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Actively engaged in political, social, charitable and religious activities. Always striving to serve the poor and downtrodden of the society.

Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

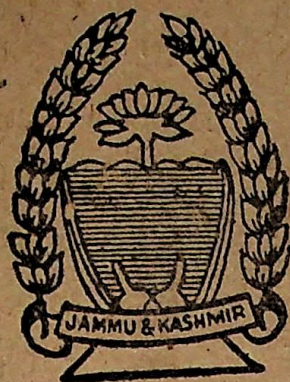
A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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JAMMU AND KASHMIR GOVERNMENT

FILE NO: 61

Human Rights and Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir
(Donated by Dr. Vidya Bhushan)

The Politics of Poonch Agitation 1977-78
(Donated by Dr. Vidya Bhushan)

Gandhi, Nehru and Bose (Dr. (Hiss) Ashu Pasricha)

Gandhi and Nehru (Dr. Jai Narain Sharma)

Date of Opening _____ Date of Closing _____

SUBJECT

HUMAN RIGHTS AND TERRORISM IN JAMMU AND
KASHMIR.

Dr. Vidya Bhushan

Being horrified by the inhumanity unleashed by the W.W.II, the international community drew up a charter of peace and statement of faith in the form of Declaration of Human Rights after the war. The concept of 'Human Rights' philosophy today is seen not only as protection of individuals and their civil rights liberties but as a wider concept of ensuring social justice & good governance. Beside, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by General Assembly in 1948, a large number of international Human Rights instruments have been signed under the auspices of United Nations. Its principal organ viz General Assembly, Eco. and social council and host of subsidiary agencies are vigorously involved in the protect and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The roots of Human Rights^{have,} however, been traced from humanitarian traditions, the unending struggle for human freedom and equality of individuals as well as in historic pronouncement of philosophers, political leaders, statesmen in different ~~centuries~~ centuries in general and in 20th century in particular. It found its first expression in Magna Carta of 1215. The concept of Human Rights is also said to be originated with the historic Documents and revolutions viz American Declaration of Independence (1776), French Declaration of Rights of Man (1789) and Bolshevik Revolution (1917). Its development & progress was gradual and never lost its link with the past.

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Though the modern concept of Human Rights evolved by U.N.O and included in U.N. Charter transcends national boundaries, yet their violations by the terrorists forces have become global phenomenon. The condition in the Third world is even worse. India is not exception to this menace.

Terrorism is negation of life. All value based violence which contravenes generally accepted norms of civil society, social order, human behaviour, right of life and equality of all men are organised crime and acts of terrorism. Similarly, judgements based upon preferences, which violates life, equality, and freedom of mankind do not any impunity under civil law or Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In short:

"There is no freedom which transcends freedom;
There is no liberty which infringes liberty;
There is no right which violates rights."

It is now over one and a half decade that the Indian State of J&K has been in the grip of the most vicious form of terrorism and the gross violations of Human Rights.

As the tally of those kidnapped, raped, tortured and killed continues to rise, a new and extremely dangerous dimension has been added. viz the influx of battle hardened foreign mercenaries sent by Pakistan. They have escalated the level of

terror in the valley and have extended its sphere to other parts of J&K as well as in India.

While a large number of them are already active in the valley, thousands more are reported to be waiting across the borders to infiltrate into the State.

They being functioning under different umbrella organisations, are ardent practitioners of the philosophy that the democratic, secular, tolerant way of life and all its related institutions must be destroyed wherever they exist.

They hail from 1. Pakistan, 2. Sudan, 3. Egypt, 4. Saudi Arabia, 5. Algeria, 6. POK, 7. Bahrain, 8. Kazakhstan, 9. Lebanon, 10. Uzbekistan, 11. Turkey 12. Nigeria, 13. Iran, 14. Afghanistan etc.

They are working under ISO as well as the various terrorist organisations like:-

- Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami
- Jamaat-ul-Muslimeen
- Jamaat-e-Islami
- Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen
- Students Liberation Front
- Al-Umar-Mujahideen
- Hizb-ul-Mujahideen
- Markaz-Dawa-ul-Akshad
- Harkat-ul-Ansar
- Ansar-ul-Mujahideen
- Lashkar-Taiba
- Jash-a-Mohammad
- Alkaidah
- Abdullah

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Jamil-e-Tulba

Murkay-ul-Dawal - Jashad

List of Alien arrested & killed (Table)

Being failed miserably in her efforts to wrest Kashmir by open war, to get implemented the outdated U.S. resolutions on Kashmir and to cause localised violent movement through her mechanism, Pakistan is still continuing its illusory pursuit of annexing Kashmir by whatever means.

Over the last about two decade she has been not only infiltrating armed terrorists and promoting insurgency in this sensitive border-state of J&K, but has also kept up sustained pressure from across the border to launch infiltration, transport weapons, arms, ammunition, and explosive devices to terrorists in the state.

Recently, a wide range of sophisticated arms and ammunition have also been made available by ISI to the terrorists. It is this systematic Pak military, and financial and organisational support that has given the rise of insurgency and led to the gross violation of human rights of innocent people.

At the same time Pakistan is clamouring that the violence in J&K is an indigenous uprising of the people against India. But the reality is that wherever & whenever

violence occurred in Kashmir it has been direct consequences of Pak. interference and fostering of subversion and terrorism within the state.

The terrorists have also successfully provoked the State and the central forces to use indiscriminate mass violence and have thereby won sympathies of the Kashmiris. For instance they had a number of occasions ~~been~~ provoked the security forces to retaliate by firing them behind the shield of innocent crowds to discredit them as the violators of human rights.

All these activities are masterminded by Pak intelligence agencies. They are providing leadership, training, arms, equipment, safe bases, and fundamentalists recruits from other countries as well as ^{own} ~~as well as~~ ^{to} create a war like situation in Kashmir.

Common Kashmiris today stand sandwiched between the armed forces of India and equally equipped militants secessionists. The reports of different Human Rights organisations — national and international — have brought forth the sorrow plight of Kashmiris.

Pakistan, simultaneously raised the bogey of violation of Human Rights of innocent Kashmiri Muslims by India, i.e. govt, military and para-military forces especially BSF & CRP in Kashmir.

It has launched a strong and sustained propaganda campaign to mould the world opinion in general and of the Muslim world in particular against India. Their exaggerations not only alienated the Kashmiris from India but also presented the ugly face of the state repression of its own kind and democratic the Indian security forces. From time to time Pakistan raised this issue at OIC, UN and other international fora.

There are number of organisations for Kashmiri Terrorists floated by Pakistan in and outside. viz inside Pakistan are Kashmir Human Rights Forum headed by Retd Major Umair Hayat; J&K Human Rights Movement; International Kashmir Committee headed by Naemullah Qureshi; Kashmir Committee headed by Retd Major Muzaffar Shah, Dukhtarane - e - Kashmir head by Dr. Sazima Jogezi & Achoni Committee headed by Nazir Ahmed Khalid.

outside Pakistan are World Kashmir Freedom Movement (U.K) head by Nazir Gilani. Kashmir American Council (USA) head by Dr. Ghulam Nabi and Kashmir Association of North America lead by A. Sheikh.

All these organisations have launched a tirade against the so called state engineered terrorism in the valley.

The reports published by these Pak-sponsored organisations alleged that the F.R.s of the Indian Constitution and Human Rights of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been denied to the people of Kashmir. These reports carried several accounts of atrocities committed by Indian security forces against the innocent Kashmiris.

Even the reports of Asia Watch Amnesty International have also accused the Indian security forces of committing excesses and violating int. humanitarian law in the valley. Its reports listed about 415 deaths from torture, custodial death, setting ablaze the houses in retaliation, custodial rape, use of third degree methods and overcrowding the jails etc.

But the reality is that these reports are mostly contradictory, indignatory, malicious, guided and at the same times far from facts. Dr. Farooq Abdullah in the World Conference of H.R. in Vienna in June 1993, rapped Pakistan for desisting peace in J&K and for spreading lies and propaganda to mislead the world opinion.

In Feb. 1994 at Geneva even the representatives of People's Republic of China and Iran requested regretted Pakistan's involvement in promoting terrorists activities in Kashmir.

The Asia Watch and Amnesty International in its 17 pages report had asked Pakistan to end all support to militant organisations in Kashmir, which were busy in commission of violation of Human Rights in Kashmir. It also urged the Int. Community to condemn the acts of militant groups in Kashmir.

Until 1994, out of about 1900 persons killed by militants 400 were security personnel, abducted 742 people, out of whom 71 were killed.

Viz Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq killed on May 21, 1990
H. L. Khare, General Manager HMT on April 10, 1990
Maulana Masoodi Dec 13, 1990, Pir Mohd.
Sharif Oct 1990, Hissamuddin Bandy June 4, 1991, Abdul Ahad Gurea Surgeon April 1993, Prof. Abdul Ahad Wani Dec. 1993, Wali Mohdattoo March 1994, Dazi Mirza Ahmed June 1994. Human Right Watch its report #
✓ The eyes of India soldiers were gouged out, ears and private parts were cut and several body parts were burnt by the militants.

The Pak-militants' violence is often barbaric in nature.

There were certain complaints about the violation of Human Rights by the state apparatus, particularly of police and para-military Jansan and security forces. Such bills were also raised by vested interests, when retaliatory measures were taken by security persons.

reported 931 and 665 innocent civilian were killed in 2001 and up to Sept 2002 respectively From 1989 to Sept. 2002, 10,089 were killed by militants.

Even NHRC continued to receive such complaints

The investigation of most of these complaints have, however, revealed the lack of substance in them. In cases where the complaints have been substantiated and found true, stringent actions have been taken. viz by Dec. 1993, 160 armed personnel were dismissed from services and imprisoned for 10 years when found guilty of violation of H.R. Various monitoring mechanisms have also been adopted. Even the commanders of the security forces have been given strict instructions for respecting the H.R. of the innocent civilians.

The new units that replace the old one are properly brief.

No doubt, a bullet for a bullet is the accepted norm of dealing with modern terrorism. Yet the India security and para-military forces have been given strict instructions that under all circumstances all other options prior to this norm must be explored, tried and offered.

Those who show greater concerns about the violation of Human Rights of Terrorists should not forget that these Terrorists have trampled the Human Rights of large number of innocent people.

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they should not forget that

" There is no freedom which transgresses freedom
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There is no right which violates right."

Moreover

The people of J & K state belong to an old civilization and pluralistic society. They are peace loving people who believe in philosophy of brotherhood and secularism. The deep rooted respect for Human Rights by our people is in fact stems from our compassion, secularism, love, tolerance, non violence and attaching a great deal of importance to the dignity of mankind.

While summing up I may agree with the view that the protection of human personality and its fundamental rights is the ultimate purpose of all laws - national and international. Terrorists' violation of Human Rights cannot be justified on the ground of their political and ideological motivations or value basis.

As terrorism involves a military campaign against a civil society, it has, therefore, no means to retaliate in combat, except through the instruments of the State.

THE POLITICS OF POONCH AGITATION: 1977-78

In November 1977 the District Recruitment Board Poonch had invited applications for the 200 vacancies of Teachers from the local candidates with M.Sc. or M.A. or B.A. in Geography and Commerce, B.A. Degree in Mathematics and B.E.C. Diploma. The Interviews of the candidates were held in June 1978 and the list of the selected candidates was released in September 1978. It was then found that a large number of recruited teachers did not fulfil the requisit qualifications and most of the meritorious and deserving candidates were ignored. The unfair ~~xxxx~~ selections and backdoor entry of certain candidates, therefore, generated a wave of resentment among the masses of Poonch District in general and among the deserving but rejected candidates in particular. They levelled the following charges against the selections made by the Recruitment Board:-

- i. That the Board under the political pressure had appointed some of such candidates, who had neither applied for the post nor were even called for interviews;
- ii. four to five members of ~~some~~ the same family as well as some of the candidates, not even the resident of the Poonch District, were appointed;
- iii. the dependents of war heroes and the most deserving candidates though possessing requisit qualifications were also ignored; and
- iv. that some of the unqualified, underaged and even overaged candidates had also been appointed at the instance of Ghulam Mohammad Ganai, the then Deputy Minister, and Ghulam Mohd. Jahn - the then National Conference leader and sitting MLA, both representing Poonch District.

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An Action Committee of prominent citizens as well as students was then constituted to negotiate with the authorities to mitigate their grievances. The Committee comprised of:-

1. Mr. Ghulam Quadar Banday - Chairman.
2. Mr. Yash Pal Sharma
3. Mr. Rajinder Singh Charak.
4. Mr. Mohammed Zaman - Advocate
5. Mr. Rajinder Singh Kaka - Advocate

When approached to Mr. S.D. Singh, the then Deputy Commissioner and the Chairman of the District Recruitment Board Poonch, he apprised that the selection list submitted by the Board was prepared strictly on merit basis. It had, however, been changed subsequently on the behest of higher ups. The aggrieved candidates started a daily peaceful Dharna against unfair and unjust selections in front of the office of the Chairman of District Recruitment Board. The Dharna continued for one week but without any tangible results.

The first manifestation in the form of a public demonstration appeared on October 14, 1978. A big peaceful procession had taken out by the students - both male and female. They demanded for the creation of at least fourteen new posts to get adjusted the most deserving candidates and those who were going to be overaged.

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appointments made, he said "there are many villages in far flung areas where people cannot go beyond matric and they have no amenities to get higher education. The government is employing the local candidates in their own villages as teachers." As a reaction to such a statement of the Chief Minister, another protest procession was taken out on Oct. 15, 1978. All the educational institutions of the district were closed indefinitely. Even the business establishments in almost entire district went on strike in support of the students' cause. On 20th October 1978 once again a procession led by Mr. G.Q. Bandey, the Chairman of the Committee was taken out, which brought the protestors in confrontation with the Police. The Police resorted lathi charge. As a result Mr. G.Q. Bandey along with a few others was injured. This incident added fuel into fire and the aggrieved candidates then went on Hunger strike. The law and order situation of the entire district was deteriorating day by day. The demonstrations as well as protest processions were taken out almost everyday. But nothing substantial had been done in the matter. On November 16, 1978 the aggrieved candidates gheraoed government officers, praded in the streets, shouted provocative slogans, presented a character of demands to the District authorities, and paralysed the entire governmental machinery. On Nov. 19, 1978 the entire population of Poonch town observed a general hartal in support of the aggrieved candidates. The situation took a serious turn when Police tear gassed the women protestors and arrested some of them. They were demanding for the appointment of at least 54 unemployed youth, whose merits had been ignored. The state authorities on the

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other hand deployed huge Police force to suppress the student agitation.

The Govt. then announced that the then Education Commissioner would go into the complaints against selection of the teachers and would submit report by 31st of Dec. 1978. But nothing had been said about whether that inquiry was conducted at all or what was its outcome. The situation in Poonch, thus, continued to be murky though peaceful.

The Poonch agitation, however, taken a dangerous turn on December 2, 1978 when about two to three hundred students took out a procession and started marching towards Deputy Commissioner's office. They were stopped by a Police Party led by the S.P. Police, Poonch, near the Govt. Degree College, Poonch. The Police resorted Lathi charge on the students without provocation. When this news reached the Bazar of the town all the shops were closed and people then rushed towards the sight of the demonstration.

As Mr. Rajinder Singh Charak while leading the procession, grappled with the Policemen. The S.P. Police said to have identified him and ordered one of Policemen to fire at him. Mr. Waryam Singh, a 20 year old student who was taller than Mr. Rajinder Singh Charak per chance came in front of Mr. Charak and was hit by the Police bullet and died on the spot. His dead body was then immediately dragged by the Police men into the Gudar Hostel where the Police force was camping. The demonstrators chased the Police men

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and set the hostel on fire. The Curfew was then imposed in the town and one man Commission of Inquiry was appointed to inquire into the reasons for firing. The Poonch Action Committee while objecting the terms of reference of the inquiry Commission, boycotted it. The Committee wanted that the Commission should inquire into all aspects of the situation that led to the firing and not confining itself to determining the justification or otherwise of Police action. The situation in town, however, remained explosive. In a resolution dated Dec. 11, 1978, the members of Action Committee demanded the holding of inquiry of Police firing by a Judge of High Court, dismissal of Police officials responsible for firing as well as Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Gani - the then Deputy Minister from Poonch, ^{and} cancellation of appointments of teachers made under political pressure.

The deep resentment against the govt., manifested once again on the republic day (26th January 1979) when local people did not allow^a visiting Minister to hoist the national flag in the town.

The large scale violence, arson and riots broke out on Feb. 3, 1979 morning when the Police arrested four leaders of the Poonch Action Committee for allegedly disturbing a Republic day function at which Mr. Bashir Ahmad, the then Minister of State for Animal Husbandry had presided. He was not allowed to hoist the flag and was manhandled. The protestants set fire a few government buildings. The Police bursted 100 tear gas shells and fired several shots in the air to disperse the crowd. About 70 persons, including several Policemen were injured in stone throwing and Lathi-charge. Ten country made bombs reportedly exploded in the heart of the town causing panic.

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There also occurred scuffle between CRP Jawans and students. As a result firing was ordered in which about 9 people - five civilians and four CRP Jawans lost their lives and about 100 injured. The curfew was imposed. The demonstrators however, while defying curfew, engaged in pitched street battles with the Police, throwing country made bombs and grenades. The army was called out in the town to guard vital installations in the wake of large-scale violence and arson.

Complete Bandh at Jammu, Udhampur, Kathua, R.S. Pura, Samba, Rajouri was observed and protest meetings were held to condemn the Police firing. Even all the educational institutions were closed indefinitely. Lawyers also boycotted the Courts. The High Court and the Subordinate Courts did not function. A procession led by all opposition leaders went through the Jammu city mourning those killed in Poonch firing.

As a result of negotiations between a three-member representatives of the students headed by Mr. G.M. Mir Poonchi, a Congress Vice-President and Sheikh Abdullah, the then Chief Minister of the State - an agreement was arrived by which almost all demands of the students were accepted by the Government. The Poonch agitation was thus ultimately called off on January 20, 1979 i.e. after about 97 days when sixty five appointment letters of the educated unemployed candidates were issued against the then newly created 90 vacancies of the teachers in Poonch district. While summing up I may point out that the problem of unemployed youths of Poonch was, thus, solved, yet the Poonch agitation which had by then assumed an avowed political character continued as a response to the call given by the All Parties Forum, formed by almost all opposition parties of Jammu and which launched Jammu Agitation of 1978-79 firstly in support of Poonch agitation.

SOCIO-POLITICO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF LADAKH

REGION IN KASHMIR HISTORIC PERSPECTIVES
By: Dr. Vidya Bhushan

On the east-west boundry of the two regions of the State - Jammu and Kashmir — is the third physical unit¹ called 'the magic land of Ladakh' or 'Little Tibet'² — the home of the ancient Bhaumas.³ While embracing an area of 97,000 sq. Km. and comprising ~~a~~ district of Leh, Kargil and Skardu (Now in occupied Kashmir) it forms the central portion of the Valley of great Indus river which takes its source at Mansarwar Lake in Tibet ^{and} traverses the whole frontier province of the State.⁴ Though it is one of the largest districts not only in the State of Jammu and Kashmir but also in whole of the Indian sub-continent⁵ yet because of its high altitude and highly mountainous and barren character it is sparsely populated.⁶ Its people, being a mixture of Mongolian and Aryan races, are cheerful, wilful, frank, honest in dealing⁷ and not quarrelsome unless under narcotic like 'chang'.⁸ Being majority of them having Buddhist faith and the follower of the Dalai Lama of Tibet the simplicity and clumsiness are in a measure their chief characteristics.⁹

However, little attention has been paid to the socio-politico-economic development of this region by the successive regimes of the state since the dawn of independence. The Ladakhs, therefore, have a deepseated discontentment, a sense of deprivation, simmering of unrest and nursing a feeling of receiving ^{ing} a step motherly treatment at the hands of state authorities.¹⁰

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In a memorandum submitted to the State Prime Minister, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, ^KJushak Bakula, Head Lama of Ladakh and the member of the Council of Kashmir, demanded for a statutory provision in the future Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir under which State's North-Eastern Frontier Province of Ladakh covering ~~Linkiang~~ and Western Tibet, would become a federating unit of Kashmir as long as the accession of the State to India endures. He urged that a separate Legislative Assembly of 15 members, with an Executive Council responsible to it, should be set up for Ladakh to run the internal administration of the area. He pointed out that under the proposed Ladakh would largely bear the same relation to the J&K State as the latter did to India.¹¹

He also met Pt. Nehru, the 1st Prime Minister of India and apprised him ^{of} ~~about~~ the ~~deteriorated~~ economic conditions of Ladakh as ~~back~~ as in 1952.¹² He also met G.M. Bakhshi the successor of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as Prime Minister of the State in 1953 and submitted to him a memorandum containing concrete suggestions for improvement of educational, economic and social conditions of the region.¹³ In spite of the fact that G.M. Bakhshi did introduce ^a number of measures for the economic development of the region but these could not satisfy the urges of the people. Kushak Bakula then charged G.M. Bakhshi and his party to be more prone towards the Muslim population than towards the Buddhists.¹⁴

While speaking in State Legislative Assembly on Oct. 5, 1953, G.M. Bakhshi endorsed the views of Kushak Bakula that Ladakh

was a backward area, ^{he} agreed that all the demands voiced on behalf of the people of that area were not heeded by the previous government and assured that the people of Ladakh of a fair deal in the then new set-up which would help to ease tension in the sensitive and neglected region of the State.¹⁵ In November, 1953 Kaushak Bakula was inducted into State Council of Ministers as a Deputy Minister in charge of Ladakh Affairs.¹⁶ An expenditure of Rs. 86.65 Lakhs ^{spent} was ~~increased~~ on development of backward areas during second plan period, (1956-61). During the Third Plan period (1961-66) a part of which covered the ^(G.M.) Bakhashi period Rs. 147.36 lakhs were spend on its development. Under Non-Plan Rs. 93.44 lakhs were spent on transport and communication and Rs. 14.2 lakhs on Ladakh development.¹⁷ During later period G.M. Bakhashi's ^{prime}ministership, the Muslims of the region supported him where as Buddhists desired a change of government. The congenial atmosphere of the region, therefore, got ⁺violated with communal overtones. Even Kaushak Bakula was seriously thinking to resign from the Council of Ministers.¹⁸

Kaushak Bakula in his letter to Pt. Nehru dated 15th September, 1962 ^{voiced} ~~levelled~~ the following grievances against the then State government:-

- (a) the State government did not appear sympathetic to Buddhist population and appreciated their genuine difficulties;
- (b) there was no planned economic programme for Ladakh;

- (c) the Ladakhis' demand for greater economic aid was being ignored;
- (d) his advise^s for solution of the reasonable demands of the Ladakh ^{were not} ~~could not~~ and honoured.
- (e) the State Government had politicised the atmosphere in the region by drawing a line between Buddhists and non-Buddhists.¹⁸

The relation between Kaushak Bakula and G.M. Bakashi got further ~~axeix~~ strained during Chinese aggression in 1962. In his letter to Pt. Nehru dated February 10, 1963 he pointed out that the State authorities continued to adopt an apathetic posture towards legitimate demands of people of the region. He also met Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the new Prime Minister of India and successor of Pt. Nehru, and apprised him^{of} the problems confronted by the Ladakhis. As the result of these meetings he was once again inducted in Mr. G.M. Sadiq's Council of Ministers as a Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs, Health and Local Self Government on July 26, 1964.¹⁹

Meanwhile the Sadiq Government appointed a ten-member high power Ladakh Development Committee to advise the govt., in regard to the policies and issues affecting good governance and speedy development of Ladakh. G.M. Sadiq said that development of Ladakh had been upper most in his mind and assured the people that government would do everything for their advancement.²⁰ Kaushak Bakula and Agha Ibrahim Shah sitting MLC were its Chairman and Vice Chairman respectively and all other ~~its~~ members were Ladakhis

: 5 :

This Committee in its first meeting at Jammu on March 7, 1965 recommended that priority should be accorded to the schemes pertaining to generation of electric power, development of irrigation and expansion of education in Ladakh. Though steps were taken for electrification of some parts of the region by installing two more generations sets at Nyoma - the headquarters of Chunathang sub-division and certain other ^{steps} for the development of the people of the area were still satisfied. Even the Ladakh Development Committee had proved least effective in its actual functioning because of limitations imposed on it.²¹ The people of the region complained that the tempo of these few and small development projects was sluggish and not commensurate with the enormous needs of the region.²² Because of subsequent difference with the then Chief Minister, he resigned from the ministership in October 1964 and alleged that no action had ~~been~~ ^{been taken} on the important matters about Ladakh referred by him to the Chief Minister.²³ In other words Ladakh problems were not taken note of. He even wrote to the then Prime Minister of India that the law and order and economic conditions in Ladakh were deteriorating because of the ^{posting} ~~imposition~~ of unsympathetic officials from the Valley.²⁴ He then began to advocate not only for the protection of separate identity of Ladakh, its political status but it should be brought under the direct control of Centre.²⁵ His contention for Ladakh's ^{separate} identity was based on:-

- "(a) that the local Government in that region mostly manned by Muslims was biased towards the non-Muslims;

- (b) that the State Government always remained indifferent to Ladakh and its problems;
- (c) that there was no rule of law ~~governing~~ in Ladakh;
- (d) that Ladakhis redress lay with the Government of India, not with the State Government;
- (e) that both the ^{new} ~~governments~~ headed by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and G.M. Sadiq failed in their attempt to meet the ~~the~~ representatives of the people of Ladakh;
- (f) that Ladakh's borders needed greater attention; and
- (g) that for the Government of India to acquire a firm foothold in Ladakh and take a greater interest in its administration and local politics was a political need because the State had so far been the virtual preserve of ^a few individuals and, in order to alter this position, the Centre had to make its presence ~~felt~~ felt in the State. Besides, the Centre had a moral responsibility to ensure a clean and efficient administration free from corruption both in political and economic spheres in that region."

It was quite surprising that Kushak Bakula, a Buddhist votary of non-violence by faith and religion threatened to launch an agitation, if needed a greater agitation, against the Government of ~~the~~ Jammu and Kashmir which had been ignoring the deteriorating conditions in his region.²⁴

However, in November 1965, Dr. Karan Singh proposed a fresh scheme to resolve the regional tensions in the State.

He proposed to divide state into a separate Kashmiri speaking State, by creating a greater Himchal Pradesh after Jammu region was made a part of it and by making Ladakh a Unit under direct control rule.²⁸ Although this scheme could not find favour either ^{with} Congress(I) or by Janasangh as well as of Muslim population of the State, yet it was welcomed by Buddhist population of Ladakh and Kushak Bakula, once again raised the demand for Central control over the region.²⁹ Mr. Sonam Wangyal, MLC, also voiced the unhappiness of Ladakhis at a Press Conference in New Delhi on April 6, 1965 and said that even after 17 years of independence and an investment of over Rs.4 (four) Crores by Central Govt., Ladakh could just boast of a road that linked Srinagar to Leh and a few bridges.³⁰ He also complained that the State Government did not take enough interest in the development of Ladakh and demanded inquiry from Central Govt.³¹ He added that the people of Ladakh continued to be unhappy with the State Government, and its policy towards them was one of neglect and apathy.³²

Meanwhile, the Leh Congress Committee in a resolution of May 1966 demanded that Leh should be accorded the status of a scheduled tribe area. The party adopted various strategies to achieve their new demand, and pressure and protest tactics were used by them.

Kushak Bakula, who became M.P. in general election of 1967 from Ladakh even threatened that if development of Ladakh continued to be neglected the people might launch an agitation to break away from the State and seek direct central administration for the region.³³

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The District National Congress Ladakh had also submitted a memorandum to the Government of India in the same year seeking NEFA type administration for Ladakh.³⁴ Its President Kushak Bakula, M.P. in a Press Conference in Delhi on Sept. 14, 1967 said that the Ladakhis were tired of the discrimination practised against them by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and therefore wanted "this region to be brought under the central administration. He further added that establishment of the NEFA type administration would enable them to develop side by side with the rest of the State. He alleged that despite repeated representation and discussion with the State for the last two decades, the conditions of the people had not improved.³⁵

The Gajendragadkar Commission also recommended for Ladakh region, among other things, a full fledged Cabinet Minister from the region, setting up Regional Development Board for Ladakh, ~~the~~ Degree College at Leh and a Higher Secondary School at Kargil.³⁶ The Gajendragadkar report, therefore, became an effective instrument for the Ladakhi leadership to press for their demands.³⁷

The Kashmiri leadership, however, said to have followed the policy of divide and rule in the region. The political factionalism had emerged into two Congress groups in Ladakh District Congress(I). Mr. Sonam Norbu, Kacho Mohammad, Ali Khan and Kushok Thinsey and their supporters lent support to Mr. Sadiq and felt that Ladakh received a fair deal at the hands of the Sadiq Government.³⁸

The other faction expressed their dissatisfaction with the policies and attitudes of the then State Government, towards Ladakh region.³⁹ The factionalism, however, caused frustration even in the Buddhist Association.⁴⁰ Its demands⁸ were, therefore, opposed by Sonam Narbu group in Congress on the ground that Ladakh could not be separated from the rest of ~~State~~ State because it would simply mean the disintegration of the entire Jammu and Kashmir State. Sonam Narbu and his group did not even favour ~~NEFA~~ NEFA type of administration for Ladakh because it was also not free from irritations and tensions.⁴¹ They also condemned Kushak Bakula for his policies. Thiksey Nonestary Head Lama, Kushak Thiksey and a few others disapproved even Kushak Bakula's demand for a centrally administered Ladakh because it would lead to ~~dismemberment~~ ^{the} of whole of the State, with far reaching consequences.⁴² G.M. Sadiq declared that 'Any attempt to pursue such ~~se~~ separatist ideas would be firmly scolded.'⁴³ He also ruled out any possibility of central intervention in the matter and ~~team~~ ^{team} of M.Ps. visiting Ladakh to study the problems of ^{the region} Ladakh.⁴⁴

In short, trouble started in Ladakh region in April, 1969 because of alleged apathetic approach of the government towards Ladakhis grievances and its divide and rule policy perpetrated in this region.

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POLITICS OF REGIONALISM IN JAMMU & KASHMIR

* Dr. Vidya Bhushan

Regionalism, being the first and foremost manifestation of the diversity of a state, refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interests by various groups within a nation. It stands for the intensive love of a particular region or an area in preference to the country as a whole or even a region in preference over the state of which the region forms a part. It is also a manifestation of those residual elements which do not find expression in the national polity and national culture and excluded from the centrality of the new polity, and also a highly parochial sentiment which blinds the people of a region to the broader requirement of a nation or the community as a whole. There may be manifestation of regionalism even within a particular state when a small area puts forth its claims against the other areas or the state as a whole. If communalism stands for the love of a community at the cost of the society, regionalism stands for love of a region or an area in preference to the country.

In a composite society like that of India, which consists of various ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and other groups, there is bound to be tension and manifestation as a result of assertion of identity such as religious identity and separate identity of certain castes or class or groups. Moreover, regional imbalances, economic and political inequality among the various groups or religions, the psychology of a bruised sentiment, the centre's or the state's indifference to a particular region, communalism based on religion, identity crisis and the increasing of the fissiparous tendencies are the potent forces which are eroding the common bounds of unity and promoting acute regionalism. The sub-national factors have, therefore, become more prominent and manifested in the form of violent agitations either demanding greater autonomy or power or complete secession and creation of a sovereign state.

However, the geo-political profile of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, like that rest of India, clearly depicts its heterogeneity. But the Dogra overlords had carved out the diverse administrative divisions out of culturally diverse regions in order to ensure a better and quick administration and to receive utmost obedience from their people belonging to different races, speaking different languages, professing different faiths and practicing different customs. It is now a union of the three geographically dislocated, culturally dissimilar and linguistically distinct regions viz Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh. The political and emotional divergence between the three regions have been growing over the years. The multiplicity of its ethnico-religio-emotional divergence among the regions not only sharpened the regional identities among them but also have deep impact on the over all politics of the state.

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The distinctive characteristic of Kashmir Valley politics and its identity have, therefore, automatically carved out two other regional identities on its either side separating it from Jammu by the geographical barrier of Pir Panchal and from Ladakh by Zojila.

As there exists communal dichotomy, regionalism, an awareness of one's own cultural heritage, historical traditions and a sense of political individuality, there have been controversies, ~~turmoil~~ and clashes of conflicting interests of different regions in pre-independence in general and in post-independence in particular. No serious attempt had ever been made by the Dogra overlords, who kept the whole J&K state under their control ~~by~~ force for a century in pre-independence as well as Kashmiri leadership since independence for cohesion, solidarity and integration of the people of these regions by the fusion of their distinct streams of culture, ways of life and thought. This also resulted in the absence of the inter-regional and inter-communal strong political party deriving its legitimacy from all the three regions of the state. Despite an uninterrupted one party Dominant Rule in Jammu & Kashmir since independence, its heterogeneity ~~has~~ helped in developing in each of these regions its distinct and aggressive political entity and also its divergent political aspirations without caring for the interests of other two regions. As the geo-political position of the state of J&K is so strategic and delicate, the regional diversities in different aspects led to fragmentation and complication of politics of the state as well as strengthening the adversities with in and also across the borders touching it.

However, the Kashmiri leaders, during their struggle for freedom from autocracy in the state, often called Maharaja Hari's (the last Dogra ruler) rule as Dogra rule and condemned the Dogras. They forgot that Dogra was not only the name of the ruling family, but also the community living in the Jammu region. They, thus, alienated the Dogras of Jammu. At the same time the popular sentiments in Jammu region, believing the than Maharaja, as the symbol of their security against the majority community, particular of Kashmir region, linked their fate and security with him.

Regarding the Maharaja as a political and cultural symbol, they sided with him in his attempts to retain more and more political powers. It seemed to Dogra nationalists of Jammu that the prospect of democracy in the state would be nothing more than being exposed them to the whims of a permanent majority (i.e. the Kashmiri Muslims) of the state and its leadership. They, therefore, opposed the very basis of the Kashmir's struggle for freedom. Moreover, the open condemnation of Hindu Dogra Maharaja by the Kashmiri leadership not only created but hardened Jammu distrust against Kashmiri leadership. The Dogras of Jammu, therefore, opposed every political move from the Valley without evaluating its plus and minus points. They, thus, played a negative role throughout the struggle for freedom in Kashmir against autocracy in pre-independence.

The entire course of political movement in Kashmir, which was started in July, 1931 against the Dogra monarchy and its vicissitudes can, on the other hand, broadly be interpreted in terms of the urge of the Kashmiri nationalists to

seek avenues of self-awareness, self-expression, self-assertion and self-determination through varying manifestations and relationship.

But the post-independence politics of Jammu appeared to be based on both inter-regional as well as intra-regional conflicts. Actually, with the dawn of independence not only regions but the sub-regions, minority and linguistic groups and other sections also became more and more self-conscious of their security as well of regional, cultural, economic, social and political rights. The decisions were generally then imposed from the above without taking into the account the sentiments and special requirements of each region. This resulted into grievances, real or imaginary, against the then state government or one or the other region, which led to the regional confrontation. Such a situation assumed communal proportions on which the sectarian as well as fundamentalist forces thrived.

However, the Hindu dominated belt of Jammu had found its effective expression in a Hindu dominated political party known as The All J&K Praja Parishad, which first sought the security of Dogras in the retention of Maharaja as a constitutional head of the state and then favoured full accession of the state with Indian Union and opposed the creating special status of Kashmir state under Art. 370 of the Constitution of India. But the ouster of the Maharaja and abolition of monarchy subsequently, further deepened the distrust of the Dogras of Jammu against Kashmiri leadership. They even opposed the then most needed and most radical reforms of the National Conference Govt. such as Grant of Fixity of Tenure to the Tenants in respect of Tenancy holdings; Fixation of Maximum Rent Payable by the Tenant to his Landlord; Providing for Summary Reinstatement of a Tenant, who had been wrongfully Ejected; Restitution of Mortgaged Properties; Relief Under The Distressed Debtors Act.; Abolition of Jagirs, Muffasies and Mukararies, and even The Big Landed Estate Abolition Act of 1950. They also opposed the incorporation of Art. 370 in the Constitution of India; Convening of the State's Consensus; Framing a separate Constitution for the state and raised the slogan of Ek Pradhan, Ek Vidhan and Ek Nishan. Being not in a mood of raising the voice for rights of Jammu vis-à-vis that of Kashmir, they even lost the confidence of the Jammu Muslims.

The Kashmiri Nationalist, on the other hand, wanted to retain maximum Autonomy, stood for limited accession of the state with Indian Union and making Art. 370 a permanent feature of the Indian Constitution. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah time and again stressed that Kashmiris had maintained that the special position accorded to the state could alone be the source of a growing unity and closer association between the J&K state and Indian Union. He even made it clear to Dr. S. P. Mukerjee in his letter to him dated 4th Feb., 1953. He further strongly pleaded that if that basis of the relationship was unilaterally altered, certain dire consequences were bound to follow. *between centre and the state*

In 1949 Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah's cabinet, however, consisted of only one Minister from Jammu and though the position improved marginally under the subsequent regimes but the fact remained that the effective political and economic powers remained to be vested in Kashmir. Thus, the dominant Kashmiri sentiment,

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with varying phases, had been in clash with the integrationalist forces inside and outside the state.

The Dogra nationalists pleaded for the transfer of more and more Powers from Kashmir to Delhi rather than powers for Jammu itself. They even did not thought about the whole of the state of J&K and their place in it. They rather charged that in official policies, assistance to the economic development, recruitment and promotion in the state administration, Jammu was discriminated against. Dr. Karan Singh (Ex Sadar-i-Riyasat of the state) also confirmed it. They, therefore, made anti-Sheikh, anti-Kashmir and anti-autonomy speeches inside and outside the state. The regional sentiments, thus, helped to fragment popular discontent and regional tensions brought their regional cordiality to an end.

Little attention was, however, paid to the socio-politico-economic development and modernization of the Ladakh region by the Dogra rulers in pre-independence era as well as by the successive political regimes in Kashmir since independence. This resulted into the rise of the feelings of contentment, deprivation and frustration among the political elites of the region. Meanwhile Mr. Kushak Bakula, the head Lama of Ladakh and only member of Kashmir Consembly in a memorandum submitted to the state prime minister demanded for a Statutory provision in the then future Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir under which state's North-Eastern Frontier Province of Ladakh 'covering Sinkiang and Western Tibet, would become a federating unit of Kashmir as long as the accession of the state to India endures. He further pointed out that under that proposal Ladakh would largely bear the same relation to the J&K state as the latter did to India. He claimed that his plan was the best gurantee of the stability or the connections of Ladakh with Kashmir.

A section of people of Doda district, led by A.G. Goni, on the other hand, stressed that Doda should also be given a status of a cultural unit because they had peculiar local problems and historically, geographically and culturally were quite different from their neighbouring units and hence, they could not any way be attached with the cultural unit of Jammu. They demanded that state be divided into as many as five cultural units, viz Kashmir, Jammu, Poonch-Rajouri, Ladakh and Doda, each with equal status and to enjoy equal autonomy in the conduct of their internal affairs.

The valley too was not calm. Pro-Pak elements were also encouraged by the happening in Jammu and Ladakh and they demanded secession of the state. As a result anti Kashmiri feeling in Jammu developed anti-muslim overtones, while anti-Jammu reaction in the valley tended to become anti-hindu and hostile to the rest of the country. Dr. S.P. Mukherjee entered into long correspondence with Pt. Nehru as well as with Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah to find the solution of regional conflict in Kashmir but nothing substantial came out. Even Dr. Mukherjee in his letter to Sheikh Mohd. Abdallah dated Feb. 4, 1953 confirmed the sense of insecurity among the people of Jammu and Ladakh and in his letter to Pt. Nehru of Feb. 12, 1953 suggested the grant of provincial autonomy to Jammu and Ladakh without the change of boundaries would be the only solution of the problem. Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee also alleged from time to time the discrimination against the two regions of the state and pleaded that the

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constitutional guarantee & autonomy to the regions was the only way to end it. The idea seemed to be that a measure of autonomy in their internal affairs would remove the fear of each of these units against the others and would provide a moral, natural and non-communal impetus for a sense of belonging which alone could effectively help in integration of the state with the Indian Union.

A chain of multiple reaction had followed Sheikh Abdullah's attitude towards Jammu, the agitation of Praja Parishad of 1952, the role of its sympathetic organizations in India, its reaction in the valley and their counter-reaction in India; the planned process of precipitating a conflict between 'Kashmiri Nationalism' and "Dogra - Nationalism, and Ladakh and Doda's demand for internal autonomy had created conditions favourable for the disintegration of the state and disruption of the unity of the people. The relation between the opposition groups in the state were further deteriorated. Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah was somewhat prepared to make some concessions to the separatists in Jammu as well as in Ladakh. Even the Basic Principles Committee of the Consenbly was, thus, instructed to study the idea of extending autonomy to each province of the state.

But by the sudden death of Dr. S.P. Mukherjee, the president of the than Akhil Bhartiya Jana Sangh and the leader of opposition in the Indian Parliament, on 23rd June, 1953, in detention at Srinagar, the whole of North India was plunged in profound grief and submerged by a kind of anti-Nehru and anti-Sheikh wave. The people of Jammu refused to believe that death occurred in natural circumstances. It was described as a death in mysterious circumstances. The rumblings of similar reactions were also heard in the Frontier district of Ladakh.

Even after the dismissal of the first popularly elected ministry of the National Conference and subsequent arrest of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah in August, 1953 and during the subsequent National Conference regimes in J&K the Dogra Nationalist of Jammu continued to play a negative role. They were much worried about the shift of more and more powers from Kashmir to Delhi but never thought and fought for Jammu's status within the state. Some of the individuals and groups even within National Conference did try in submissive manners for the recognition of Jammu's regional autonomy as well as its equitable share in the power structure of the state right from 1949. But they were subsequently expelled from the party. More over The J&K Youth Conference and Friends of New Kashmir, Delhi; the Socialist Groups first and P.S.P., Jammu Autonomy Form, a Group of Jana Sangh Workers later on also demanded the grant of regional autonomy to Jammu region. Mr. Balraj Puri in J&K Peoples' Convention held at Srinagar in Oct. 1968 also tried to articulate Jammu's regional urges on the secular lines. His main emphasis was that whatever measures of autonomy had been promised to the state within Indian Union should also be conceded to Jammu region. The consensus of the Peoples, Convention was that any solution of the state's future should be peaceful, democratic, just and realistic and keeping in view the interests of all the three regions and to set at rest controversy which was one of the source of tensions in the inter-regional relations.

Dr. Karan Singh once proposed linguistic reorganization of the state and merge² of Jammu with adjoining H.P. But the idea was not welcomed and received severe

attack from the entire political spectrum. Jana Sangh leadership pointed out^{that} by isolating Kashmir, the Muslims would be ^{so} preponderant that we would loose it to Pakistan. The Communist leaders thought that, it was a part of sinister American Plot. Mr. Sadiq called it an idea which was fraught with dangerous consequences and should be resisted with all might. ^{existing}

The idea of regional autonomy within ^{the} framework of the ^{constitution} state was also endorsed by 130 prominent state citizens belonging to all walks of life and communities including politicians, doctors and advocates. But almost all the political parties and the centre opposed it.

With regrets it is to be pointed that Jammu protests and sacrifices during all the years got a defeat channel. The Dogra Nationalists failed to understand that the lack of adequate share in political power was one of the basic problem of Jammu. Jammu actually needed the safeguards within the state on precisely the same grounds on which Kashmir feels the need within Indian Union.

The Gajendragadkar Commission, however, made a positive contribution to the debate on inter-regional relations in the two major aspects. Firstly, it stressed the need for recognition of regional identities in the various fields of governmental activities. Secondly, while recognizing the paramountcy of political aspirations of regions, it conceded that even if all the matters were equitably settled down among the regions, there would still be some measures of discontentment unless the political aspirations of the different regions of the state were fully satisfied. In order to satisfy the political urges of the regions. It recommended for the establishment of a convention that if Chief Minister belonged to one region, there should be Dy. Chief Minister belonging to the other. Moreover, the number of cabinet Minister belonging to the regions-Jammu and Kashmir should be equal and a full fledged Cabinet Minister from Ladakh be in the state cabinet. Unfortunately, the State Government still continued its policy of inaction on the report and its recommendations were not fully implemented.

However, the atrocities committed by the Pak armies on their Muslim brethren in civil war in East Pakistan, the assistance rendered by India to them and subsequent emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country had a considerable effect on Kashmir politics. It strengthened the secular force, reduced the bargaining capacity of the Kashmiri leaders to balance India and Pakistan, created popular disillusionment with Pakistan and resurgence of regional patriotism against the appeal of Muslim solidarity. Thus Indo-Pak war of 1971 and emergence of Bangladesh created favourable atmosphere for the negotiations between Kashmiri and Indian leadership to sort out differences. As a result the negotiations between Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah thus started and resulted into Indira-Sheikh accord of 1975.

For over half a century, till ^{his} death, Sheikh Abdullah symbolized the aspirations of regional nationalism of Kashmir. In the last phase of his life he reacted sharply even to the slightest provocation from Jammu region. Even during the regime of Dr. Farooq Abdullah and there after most of political happenings and events in and outside the Jammu & Kashmir contributed much in sharpening the regional sentiments and regional identities of all the three regions and helped

much in developing, in each region, its distinct and aggressive political entity and also its divergent political aspirations.

India, too, played a negative role. The Indian leadership always thought that Jammu and Ladakh had no other option except India. Whenever, therefore, people of Jammu raised their voice for their rights, they were dubbed by them as communalist. Their eyes were always focussed on valley in order to improve their secular image in the world. Whatever concessions were given, these were given to the valley and they did not bother much for Jammu and Ladakh.

The newly emerging political elites of Jammu now believe that with the backing of the Central Governments the Kashmiri rulers have always manipulated their permanent dominating position in all walks of life and, thus, denied Jammu its due share in political and economic development of the state. They, therefore, believe that the only remedy of all ills of inter-regional relations of the state is its trifurcation. This idea too is being opposed by the intergrationists, autonomists and fundamentalist political parties and groups within as well as outside the state.

The newly emerging elites of Ladakh, however, started to feel concern about the socio-politico-economic backwardness of their peoples. Even their demands raised from time to time viz a statutory provision for Ladakh in the state's Constitution; the grant of Union Territory status; speedy socio-politico-economic development of the region; protection of their identity under Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution; merger of Ladakh with Indian union; their proper representation in the state services; induction of their more representatives in the state cabinet; recognition of Bôhi language; according the schedule tribe status and NEFA type status to Ladakh etc. were not heeded to by the successive state Govts. Rather they followed a policy of side tracking and divide and rule. As a result organized struggles against the Kashmiri domination were launched in Ladakh region from time to time. The communal trouble also raised its ugly head in the region. The Kashmiri leadership had been alledged to be more prone towards Muslims of the region rather than that of the majority community-the Buddhists. They also feared that they would be reduced to minority because of the increasing incidents of conversions of Buddhist girls to Islam on the encouragement of Anjuman-i-Islam which was providing the Muslim young men money to lure the innocent Buddhist girls to embrace Islam and marry them. The State Govt. did not even concede the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Commission about the Ladakh region in 1979, rather disturbed its social equilibrium by dividing Ladakh into Leh and Kargil districts on pure communal lines. They believed that the situation had reached to such an extent that nothing less than complete separation of the region from J&K state would satisfy them.

But some political elites are of the view that the slogan of bifurcation and trifurcation of the state are dangerous manifestations. They believe that separation of regions is no solution of the problem at all. The real remedy actually lies in the equitable treatment and of equal opportunities for each region to grow according to its own genius. They stress that the process of divisions and sub-divisions of the regions will lead to infinite divisions and then nowhere. They, therefore, outrightly disapprove the slogans of bifurcation or

trifurcation and pleade that all out efforts should be made by all to tackle inter-regional tensions to the best of satisfactions of all the regions. Such a positive approach will only ensure regional peace and harmony in the state.

Mr. M.Y. Tarigami, while pleading for the preservation of the unity and integrity of the state, recognizes the fact that such a unity can thrive only in the atmosphere in which each region is allowed to grow according to its own peculiarities. He is of the views that preservation of state's unity and fulfillment of the diverse urges of its regions are complimentary to each other. In such atmosphere the regional diverties do not work as disabilities but bring credit and strength to the state's social fabric and prove to be a significant factor in assuring an era of peace and harmony in the state. He further pleaded that the existing diverse ethnicities in different regions of the state constitutes its strength rather than its weakness. Actually there is a need of carving out a political structure that fulfils aspirations of its diverse regions. Mr. Tarigami has rightly stressed that such a devolutionary measures needs to be worked out in a spirit of partnership between the state, the regions and the sub-regions so that all units remain part of the state, willingly and with the sense of genuine belonging.

The Ladakh Buddhists Association had afterwords, rescinded its demand for Union Territory Status in favour of Autonomous Hill Council so that they get free hands to preserve their ethnicity and cultural identity.

The Ladakhi political elites alleged that their complaints had mostly centred on the jingoism of the leaders from the Valley and their systematic acts of discrimination against the masses of the region. Moreover Ladakh stands the fear of being colonized by the Kashmiris and its identity and culture overwhelmed by Islamic influence. They alleged that Kashmiris trained their eyes on the minuscule Buddhist population for assimilating them in Islamic fold. They believe that in such a melee it was only a matter of time before their identity perished completely.

The central Government also seem to be concerned about it the movements launched by the Ladakhi people so that the people of this sensitive geo-political regions touching newly Central Asian Republics, China and Pakistan may not become restive. They repeatedly visited Ladakh region to have a first hand knowledge about the problems being faced by the people of this sensitive region and reported to the Central Government for finding out some amicable solution of their problems.

It may also be pointed out that the climate, like ethnic composition, of the J&K State has also greatly affected its politics. Except Jammu, both Kashmir and Ladakh are the coldest regions. In the past no political movement was ever started in Kashmir in winter. But now for the last few years, Kashmir is under turbulence continuously regardless of its climatic conditions. The same scene has been witnessed in Ladakh region also. Moreover, the various ethnic groups belonging to various regions of the state do not react uniformly to political pulls from outside the state, which adversely affected their relations with one another. The ethnic groups do feel involved in all the affairs of the state and take the interest in elections, administration and development. Above all, the question of sense of participation and equitable share in political powers of the state has started agitating the minds of various ethnic groups since long. Though regional and political groups were activated in their respective geo-political regions and some futile attempts have also been made in the past by a few progressive and secular elements to form political parties either through alliances or mergers, yet these experiments were either short-lived or such political parties could not get any popularity.

While summing up I may point out that Kashmiri leadership, right from Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah down to Dr. Farooq Abdullah and after, has never been serious to share political powers with other two regions of the state i.e., Jammu and Ladakh. Even in

employment and development matters the people of Jammu and Ladakh have been constantly denied their legitimate and due share. The real hunger of the two regions has been the sharing of political powers with the Valley. The only remedy of the inter-regional distrust, irritations and tensions is, therefore, the equitable division of Political power among the three principal regions of the state through a mechanism acceptable to the people of each of these regions.

Like Comrade Tarigami, I may also conclude by stressing that 'a clear cut division of politico-economic power, laid out on well-defined, mutually agreed and equitable principles of harmonizing state-regions relations will result in a more inclusive federal structure of the Jammu and Kashmir state rather than the one that excludes, divides or destabilizes its constituent units. Moreover, such a devolutionary and decentralized measures will also promote in them greater equity, sense of partnership as well as the goal of social justice.

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SOCIALIST THOUGHTS OF PT. JAWAHARLAL AND M.K. GANDHI : AN ESTIMATE

Dr. Vidya Bhushan*

The distrust and antipathy between the 'haves' and 'hovernots' which often found expression in massive strikes and arrogant lock-outs of factories by the workers in 19th century brought the society to the precipice of an open social disruption. The system of capitalism was, therefore, totally discredited. As a result the close of 19th century witnessed the doom of individualism and socialism, in one form or the other seized the temple of politics.¹

Socialism, being defined as "a system of social organisation in which private property and the distribution of income are subject to social control, rather than to determination by individuals pursuing their own interests or by the market forces of capitalism", aims at 'man's emancipation, his restoration to unalienated, uncrippled individual who enter's into a new, rich, spontaneous relationship with his fellowmen and with nature And transform himself into a being who can make creative use of his powers of feeling and thinking".² Socialism as a theory and political movement has appeared in various forms in different countries. Its form changes in accordance with the varying social, economic, political and cultural conditions of each country.

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Pt. Nehru, being a man of action was also committed to 'socialism'. He was deeply influenced by the writings of Karl Marx and Lenin, communism of Soviet Union and China. He was of the view that the ^{theory} story of socialism of Karl Marx gave him a distinct status in the realm of socialist thought. He clarified his positions to his socialist learning and said :

"I am temperamentally and by training an individualist and intellectually a socialist..... I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage"³

Even in his early days he was associated with a group of radical thinkers and drew up a programme of something like agrarian socialism in his home state. After a short visit to Russia his emotional preferences for Leninist Communism became marked. His initial approach to socialism was purely humanitarian and ethical. It was bred out of sympathy and pity for the misery of the under dogs. He seemed to have been converted to socialism during his visit to the Soviet Union. He wrote that "It is essential that we must clearly lay down an economic programme for the masses with socialism as its ideal."⁴ From the presidential platform of the Lahore Congress, he categorically enunciated his commitment to socialism. While believing Socialism as a philosophy of compensation for the suppressed classes and nationalities, he declared that he was deeply impressed with

Socialism as an economic theory of state ownership and control of the basic means of production and distribution.⁵

Nehru believed in ethical socialism. He regarded Socialism as a philosophy of life and not merely as a formula for economic reconstruction. To him socialism was the economic technique for the liberation of the masses from the industrial and agrarian feudal lords and oligarchs. He said Socialism meant the "ending of private property except in a restricted sense. Like Marx and Lenin he also believed that the advent of socialism would ^{create} the motivations for a change in man's instincts, habits and desires."⁶

M.K. Gandhi, on the other hand, was not a theoretician but a practical idealist and at heart a deeply religious man. His outlook on Socio-politico-Economic and other problems was influenced by his religious views. He subscribed to the principle of social justice and practiced ^{it} with a religious zeal from the earliest days in South Africa where he had founded the Tolstoy farm, basing it on certain chosen principles of communism.⁷ He, once, said that he claimed to be ^a socialist because of his belief and conduct. He stressed that his socialism was natural to him and not adopted from any book. He further pointed out that he was socialist long before those who knew it in India and avowed his creed. He even did not think that socialism was the discovery of Marx and it was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists. He contended that socialism and

even communism was explicit in the first verse of the Isopanishad.⁸ Gandhi knew the heart rending poverty and suffering of the people in the villages and his preoccupations with the redress of that suffering, his ambition to wipe every tear from every eye, immediately captured imagination of the countryside and the response to his call was of the nature of a volcanic eruption thereafter.⁹

Nehru's idea of socialism was not based on any type of socialism found in other countries. He named his concept as an indigenous socialism based on the liberty of individual and not using any type of force or suppression. He considered individual liberty as a very precious commodity which could not be bartered with any precious thing. He termed it as 'Democratic Socialism' He wanted that capitalism should be ended by non-violence and by peaceful methods.¹⁰ As a passionate and genuine defender of and deep attachment to the civil liberties, he said "to crush a contrary opinion forcibly and allow it no expression, because we dislike it, is essentially of the same genus as cracking the skull of an opponent because we disapprove of him".¹¹ Nehru did not find any inherent contradiction between socialism & Individualism. He believed that the individual and the state were not anti thesis to each other. He hoped that his socialism would not kill or made suffer individuals. He said "I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic & cultural bondage.

Gandhi did not like any kind of Jargon and believed that it was the quality and the spirit of a system which was more important. He disapproved all such institutions and ideologies which strike at individuality. He valued individual freedom. He was a democratic humanitarian by instinct. He also stressed that his concept of socialism was pragmatic and not dogmatic. He pointed out that as unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle, there should be balance between individual freedom and social restraint. Gandhi favours socialism if it did not come through violence. He termed his concept of socialism as non-violent socialism.¹² He was opposed to the use of any suppression or extermination of the antagonists. He pleaded that the individual freedom should have fullest play, which could be achieved under the reign of unadulterated Ahimsa.¹³ Gandhi put forward the ethical arguments in his advocacy of moral transformation of the individual. He believed that the use of force was likely to alienate the right minded and neutral one's and it might lead them to the other side and thus strengthen the opponents.¹⁴

Pt. Nehru's concept of socialism was not a static or dogmatic rather it was pragmatic, ever changing and ever evolving. He kept on constantly shifting his socialist ideology toward left from 1947 to 1964. He admitted :

"I look upon it as a growing, dynamic conception as something which is not rigid, as something which must

fit in with the changing conditions of human life and activity in every country".¹⁵

Nehru evolved his own concept of socialism. He had portrayed the type of society which he wanted to establish in India in his Autobiography :

"Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to have material and cultural levels to a cultivation of spiritual values, of cooperative, usefulness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and live ultimately a world order".¹⁶

Like Pt. Nehru, Gandhi's concept of socialism was not dogmatic. He was a practical idealist and at heart deeply religious man. His outlook on social, political, economic and other problems was influenced by his religious view. He not only subscribed to the principles of socialism and social justice but practiced it with a religious zeal. Gandhi's interest in socialism was by and large practical. He tried to deduce his propositions from facts of life and tested them every time to make practical. He, quite often, used comparison with scientific method to illustrate his own idea.¹⁷

Pt. Nehru hated the Princes, Nowabs and big Zamidars who were leading a luxurious and comfortable lives, whereas the majority of population was deprived of the very basic essentials like food, shelter and

clothing. He regarded zamindari system as a source of great exploitation and evil. He believed that Taluqdari system of land tenure was very oppressive for the farmer. He pleaded for the abolition of Zamindari system and to put ceiling on landed property. He believed that as land was a unique type of property which could not increase or decrease, the land ownership be vested in the state. He stressed that there would be no other alternative to this if real socialism to be established on firm foundations.¹⁸

Gandhi, on the other hand stressed that all land belonged to state i.e. people and pleaded for the state ownership of the land. He believed in the change of heart and conversion of landlords by means of the doctrine of non-violence and trusteeship. He wrote :

"I expect to convert the Zamindars and other capitalists by non-violent method. For it is an essential part of non-violence to go long the line of least resistance".¹⁹ He believed that if the toilers intelligently combined they would become an irresistible power. He wanted to invite the zamindars and the capitalists to regard themselves as a trustee for those on whom they depended for making the retention of an increase of their capital.²⁰

The wholistic approach of Pt. Nehru was production oriented. He did not believe in the liberal school of economic and the theory of non-interventaionalism. His ideas were partly similar to those of the German state socialists-wagnes, schmoller, knies etc. He pointed out that his

attachment to socialism was not of the vague humanitarian type but socialism as meant in economic sense. He stressed that his socialism meant the ending of private property except in a restricted sense. His socialist pattern connoted social ownership or control of the principal means of production, acceleration of natural production and the equal distribution of the wealth of nation.²¹ He believed in nationalization and emphasized increase of productive resources and full employment.²² He would give to the 'rurals industries' and 'Khadi' in his scheme of economic reconstruction. He believed in rapid industrialization of the country. He talked about progressive socialization and stressed on the necessity of agrarian reconstruction in India. He was also committed to the theory of mixed Economy. He was keenly conscious of India's grave economic problems such as unemployment, underemployment, rampant poverty, food shortage, high prices etc. For ending all these maladies he accepted and tried to implement the concept of planned economy.

Gandhi, however, accepted the spiritual orientation to economics. He said that 'Truth' and 'Ahimsa' must incarnate in socialism. His noble crusade for the liberation of the suppressed lower class in India showed his deep attachment to the concept of social justice. He believed that the industrial civilization of the occident was based on the exploitation of the weaker people. Its complicated material life was inconsistent with high thinking. He was therefore, primarily engaged in abolishing the unjust

economics exploitation of India. He pleaded to return to nature. He stressed that the civilization should consist not in the accumulation of commodities but in a deliberated and voluntary reduction of wants. Gandhi condemned the 19th century doctrine of Laissez fair.²³ He accepted the concept of economic equality. All persons should be supplied with necessities to satisfy their natural needs.²⁴ He was of the view that for the concrete realization of economic equality it was essential to take recourse to Charkha and the allied industries.²⁵ In Hindswaraj he opposed large scale industrialization, imperialism and secularism as diseases. Later on, in the context of the future Indian society he advocated reconciliation of large scale and small scale industries, the nationalization of key industries and organisation of urban centre to function as catering to the interests of the villages where the real soul of India lay.²⁶ Gandhi was a critic of capitalism because the institution of capitalism was a negation of Ahimsa. He championed the revolutionary doctrine of equal distribution of wealth. He stressed that there should be no accumulation and no useless possession. The rich should become trustee of their surplus wealth for the good of the society.

Pt. Nehru did not find any inherent contradiction between socialism and individualism. He believed that the individual and the state were not anti-thesis to each other. He was of the view that liberty was possible and was consistent with planning. He said that equality and liberty always go

together and they do not run centre to each other.²⁷ He pleaded that he was temperamentally a socialist and hoped that socialism would not kill or make individuals to suffer. He pointed out that he was attracted to socialism simply because it would release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage.²⁸

Gandhi also laid greater stress on the role of the individual in bringing about social revolution.²⁹ He said that it were individuals who started the process of revolution in their bid to change the social efficiency. The individualism and socialism were not contradictory but complementary to each other. He disapproved all such institutions and ideologies which strike at individuality- the root of all progress. Out of the two extremes- Marxian economic determinism, which regarded individuals of no consequence in determining the course of history and unrestricted individualism of the *laissez-fair*,³⁰ Gandhi uphold the golden mean balance between individual freedom and social restraint. He pleaded for the adjustment of individualism to the requirements of social progress. He said that willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well being of the whole society would enrich both the individual and the society. He, therefore, presented synthetic view about the relation between the individual and society.³¹

Pt. Nehru's socialism was also nationalization oriented. Nehru classified industries into three sectors - Public, National and Private. The

first included post & telegraph, Railways & Defence industries which must be the exclusive monopoly of the state. The National sector included industries which were also the exclusive responsibility of the state. These were coal, iron, steel, mines, air craft, ship building etc. All other industries would be in the private sector.³² He was of the view that public sector should work where it could increase production. But he did not want nationalization of the private sector where it was rendering useful service to the society by enhancing the production. Pt. Nehru said "As long as private industries are kept going and are employing many people, we would rather use our resources for developing new projects and employing more people. If these industries are well managed privately, we see no need for nationalization at any time".³³ He selected for nationalization of big and heavy industries and projects involving huge amount for investments and were most essential for creating an infrastructure to give a strong and sound base to Indian economy. e.g. Atomic energy, space technology³⁴ etc. Nehru was also in favour of big machinery and fast travelling.

Gandhi to^o advocated nationalization of key industries which produced essential commodities. He pleaded that key industries should not be retained under private ownership because it would lead to the exploitation of the workers. He favoured increase of production and not private accumulation, but for social service. He even opposed all mechanisation because it would create unemployment, idleness and intellectual dullness.

His opposition was not to the machine as such, but to the irrational craze for machinery.³⁵

Pt. Nehru admitted that there was conflict of interests among the different sections of people e.g. interests of the zamindars vs tenants; industrialists vs the workers. He stressed that this conflict was not an irreconcilable. Moreover these were frictions and not conflicts. He pleaded that these could be removed by non-violent and by peaceful methods.³⁶

Gandhi, on the other hand, repudiated the theory of class-struggle. He started with the notion of the common good of the whole community and pleaded for the replacement of the concept of class struggle by the more rational theory of social well being and harmony.³⁷ Discarding the theory of class antagonism founded on inveterate hatred of classes, Gandhi remarked :

"I do not like the assumption underlying its propositions which go to show that there is necessary antagonism between the classes and the masses or between labourer and the capitalist such that they can never work for mutual good. If this would have been the case, the human race would not have advanced to this stage".³⁸

Gandhi was of the view that his socialism wished to advance society by cutting across classes and not by setting classes against classes. He wished to abolish classes by bringing the classes together so that there

were no class distinctions left. Gandhism, therefore, stood for class conversion.³⁹

Nehru was poles apart from communist approach to international politics and economics. His approach to socialism, since his Cambridge days was purely humanitarian and ethical. He advocated the purity not only of ends but also of means. He repeatedly reiterated the theme of nobility of means and operation of moral laws. He had also accepted the creed of Ahimsa. His conviction about purity of ends and means was said to be stimulated by Gandhian influence.⁴⁰

Gandhi was also emphatic regarding the use of non-violent means for achieving the ideal society. He held that the means and ends were convertible terms and that the ends grew out of the means. He said there was the inviolable connection between the means and ends. He pointed out the ends and means were so intertwined that they could not be separated. He further stressed that good ends could never be achieved through bad means. Since the end in view was a non-violent society, free from exploitation and oppression, the means to bring that about, must be also be non-violent.⁴¹ He pleaded that :

"So close is the relation between ends and means that if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself; the means is the end in process. Hence the purer

the means, the surer will be the progress towards the goal." 42

He said that democracy or swaraj of the masses could never come through untruthful and violent means. 43

While concluding I may say that Pt. Nehru had a profound emotional attachment to ~~the~~ Gandhi. Nehru represented the search for freedom, social justice and equality. Where as Gandhi embodied the eastern quest of emancipation of all illumination. Nehru was a democrat for the masses but Gandhi was a democrat of the masses. Both were socialist in their thought and action in their own ways. (Nehru was of the view that socialism did not merely imply change in the economic relations in the society. But it involved fundamental changes in the social structure, in the way of thinking and in the way of living and caste and class would have no place in a socialist state. He, however, agreed with Gandhi that mere material prosperity alone would not make life rich and meaningful.) Both were, however, of the view that along with economic development, ethical and spiritual values should be fastered in order to bring about full development of the individuals. As a Gandhian, Nehru too urged the elimination, if not conquest, of fear as the necessary psychological background of a sane and rational social and international order.

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PT. JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU'S PHILOSOPHY OF SECULARISM VIS-À-VIS THAT OF M.K. GANDHI.

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Religion, being embracing numerous aspects of man's life, had been a dominant force in human societies for quite a long time. It instead of binding mankind together in the ties of love and brotherliness, has been a fruitful cause of discord and strife between the groups of men. There are not only crusades and 'Jehads' fought in the name of religion between nations, but also persecution of individuals who had the courage to adopt and follow religion or not to confirm to the tenets and practice of the orthodox within the fold of the same religion. Though at the root of all faiths is God yet the history of religion illustrates the tragic effect of intolerance and exclusive faiths. Religion or communalism, therefore, lie at the root of creating all religious conflicts and crisis, communal virus, bitterness, animosities, wars, massacres among the various religious groups, breded intolerance and disturbed peace of the masses throughout the history of mankind.

However, the discoveries in the domain of physical science, celestial sphere, renaissance in the west and emergence of rationality in human behaviour have shattered the centuries old obscurantism¹. Secularism, which emerged as a reaction against excess of religion, excessive religiosity and orthodoxy was, therefore, essentially a product

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of the conflict between religion, society and politics², over the years, the usage of secularism became wide-based as it carried additional connotations from different social contexts. The reality is that secularism as a socio-politico ethos is only an instrumentality to achieve a system of ordering and arranging the human affairs.³

Secularism, being a modern concept, has, therefore, been evolved through the ages, out of history and tradition; culture and ethos, which resulted in the synthetisation of many current and cross-currents of thought and philosophy.

✓ The movement towards secularism has been, thus, in progress during the entire course of modern history and has often been viewed as being anti-religious.

Considering, secularism as a way of life and secular attitude vital for a modern rational society. Max Weber has rightly said :-

"The attributes of secularism began to be considered essential because the origin of economic rationalism depend not only on rational technology and rational law but also, in general, on the capacity and disposition which men had for certain kinds of practical rationality in the conduct of their lives."⁴

The term 'secularism' has therefore, several connotations and represents different dimensions such as⁵ (a) separating the sphere of the state from the religion; (b) equal treatment of all communities by the

state; (c) rational critique of religious beliefs and above all (d) the vital domain ensuring just and fair living conditions for the people. Thus, any struggle for secularism will have to be a struggle for all these dimensions.

As India represents a multi religious society and a multiplicity of socio-communal groups, which on occasions bring a situation to an impasse, generating lots of anomic and tensions leading to sporadic incidents of violence, secularism here acquires not vital significance but also assumes predominant importance.⁶

Unlike the west, where secularism had been evolved out of various kinds of historical situations, secularism in India, being defined "as equal status for all religions"⁷ can be examined and analysed in the light of the problems of determining the relationship between religion, politics and the society. While explaining the concept of secularism in an old multi-religious traditions like that of India. Dr. Radhakrishnan said

"Secularism here does not mean irreligion or atheism or even stress on material comforts, it proclaims and lays stress on Universality of spiritual values which may be attained in a variety of ways".⁸

Pt. Nehru and M.K. Gandhi, however, being most outstanding leaders of Indian freedom movement were secular in their thoughts and actions. But secular approach of both of them was, however, remained basically and fundamentally different.

Nehru emerged on Indian political scene when Britishers were applying their nefarious policy of 'Divide and Rule' and provided representation in the various provincial assemblies on communal bases. They even provided separate representation for untouchable and backward communities of Hindus. These provisions not only damaged the harmonious and good neighbourly relations between both religious communities but also created chasms even in the Hindu community.⁹

"Nehru's secularism proceeded from his liberal cultural upbringing Agnosticism and the absence of any transforming religious experience had strengthened his secularism".¹⁰ His understanding of secularism was not derived from any dictionary or borrowed ideology. It was, however, the product of personal attitudes, historical circumstances and compulsion of policy.¹¹ His concept of secularism contains equitable human social order where people who profess different faiths live in harmony and tranquility.¹² He was of the view that :

" If India is to be remain strong and united then secularism is must because this is the only way when the people of India, having different castes, creeds, community, colour, language, customs and traditions can be brought under one umbrella".¹³

Gandhi, though appeared on Indian political scene when struggle for freedom was at the infancy stage, yet, his influence on Indian mind had been profound and not limited to those who agree with him or

accepted him as a national leader but extended to those who disagreed with him and criticized him. His thought and personality was a movement in itself. He also stood for a secular state in India. In one of his articles in Harijan he wrote that the state should be secular. He said :

"The state to be secular. The state should undoubtedly be secular. Everyone living in it should be entitled to profess his religion without let or hindrance, so long as the citizen obey the common law of the land."¹⁴

In contemporary Indian politics the notion of secularism has; thus, derived indirect strength from Gandhi's respectful regard for all great religions of mankind.¹⁵ E.M.S. Namboodripad has rightly described Gandhi as "Father of Nation" and Nehru as "The architect of free India". The national movement had been shaped by M.K. Gandhi whereas social democratic nuances given to it by J. Nehru.¹⁶

As one of the major issue in the context of 'Secularism is the force of religion and any struggle to achieve it will have to consider religion very seriously. Pt. Nehru while condemning the use of religion for political purposes pleaded for separating religion from politics. He developed an aversion towards religion from the very beginning. He said "I am not wedded to any dogma or religion but I do believe in the innate spirituality of human beings". He believed that it had lost its social value.¹⁷ He left completely frustrated with the practice of religion. He had recorded his impression in his Autobiography :

" The spectacle of what is called religion in India and elsewhere, has filled me with horror. I am not a religious man, dogmas do not appeal to me. Religion is narrow and intolerance of other opinion and ideas; it is self centered and egoistic. It does not help, but even hinders, the moral and spiritual progress of people." ¹⁸

He held the view that organised religion should not have a major role to play politically because religion was a private matter for individual and could not be exploited for political purposes. He further pointed out that admixture of religion and politics would mean a throw back to medievalism. He often branded religion as superficial and selfish. He believe that religion being not an agent of social change acted as obstruction for modernisation and progress. He was of the view that his concept of secularism is not the negations and condemnation of any particular or all religions but to respect all religions and conduct the affairs of state in an impartial manner and having no bias and prejudice in favour or against any religion.¹⁹

Nehru, being an architect of Indian concept of secularism, got basic ideals²⁰ of secularism clearly embedded in the constitution of India and succeeded making them fundamental laws of land. He also got the system of communal electorates abolished. In short he succeeded, to a greater extent in bringing about an atmosphere of secularism in Indian society as well as in polity. It was, therefore, in material if the fathers of

Indian constitution did not use the connotation 'Secularism' anywhere in the constitution itself. Secularization in India, therefore, does not mean privatization of religion nor does it mean that the state will have nothing to do with the religious life of the people.

Gandhi's 'Secularism', on the other hand, did not believe in separation of religion from politics. He pleaded that religion must pervade all spheres of man's life. He accepted the creative force of religion in human history.²¹ According to him religion signified belief in the ordered moral governance of the world. He also accepted the spiritual and moral essence of all the great religions of mankind. He said true religion implied an emphasis on the moral values of man as spirit and as soon as the moral basis would be lost one ceased to be religious. He also believed that all religions were founded on the same moral laws and it provided dynamic impetus in one's action and life. Religion should, therefore, pervade all spheres of man's life.²² In one of his articles in Harijan he wrote :

"Religion to pervade all spheres of life - The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into water tight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they

would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing" ²³

For Gandhi, religion was more important than politics. He pointed out that first he was a religious man and he took to politics only because politics encircles us like a coil of a snake. At the same time he fathered the policy of its non-interference in the internal administration of the states.²⁴ He sought to spiritualize politics. Spiritualization of politics, for him meant that means in politics and elsewhere should be pure and noble and the means were more important than ends.²⁵ Pt. Nehru also admitted that he was attracted by Gandhi's concept of spiritualization of politics which meant the stress on right means. He pointed out that Gandhi's religious approach was a moral approach and it brought about a spirit of mission in politics as against expediency and opportunism.²⁶ He was often disturbed when Gandhi's religion seemed to cross the border line between religion and superstition.

While regarding secular education an imperative in the Indian situation to bring about modernization and change. Pt. Nehru not only stood for separating education from religion but insisted on imparting scientific education to all. He was very particular that scientific temper should be the main component of education. He said :

"I have a partiality for the literary aspects of education and I admire the classics, but I am quite sure that some elementary scientific training in Physics and Chemistry

and especially in biology, as also in the application of science is essential for all boys and girls. Only thus can they understand and fit into the modern world and develop, to some extent at least, the secular temper."²⁷

Gandhi also stood for secular education but he wanted fundamental principles of ethics to be included in education. He insisted fundamental principles of ethics (as are common to all religions) to be taught to all the children. He believed that the study of other religious, besides one's own would give us a grasp of the rock-bottom unity of all religious and afford a glimpse of that 'universal and absolute truth which lies beyond the dust of creeds and faiths'.²⁸ At the same time he believed that teaching of ethics was certainly a major concern of the state.²⁹

Nehru condemned Muslim communalists as well as Hindu communalists and pointed out how they encouraged one against the other in different periods and he wanted to create communal accord through the creation of a common rational or social outlook.

According to Nehru communalism in India created because of economic problems and associated with the class interests of the upper middle class. He was of the view that Hindus and Muslims were fighting for jobs and their class interests. He stressed that if India's struggle for political freedom could be translated into a struggle for social freedom also communalism would vanish.³⁰

Gandhi, however, considered Hindus and the Muslim not only two wings of the same bird but also as the "The two eyes of Mother India. He asked both of them to realise the fact that the whole of India suffers when either Hindu or Muslim suffer."³¹

Gandhi was of the view that both the Hindu and Muslims belong to India. They are born of the same soil, have the same blood and speak the same language. (The same climate, rivers and fields supply both the air, water and food. They live under the same sky, in calamities that overtake the country are afflicted in the same way, irrespective of their religious beliefs). They have common joys and common sorrows. The political and economic grievances of both communities are identical. He stressed that God and nature did not distinguish between them, why should man... do it. These affinities were enough to highlight the common bond between the two communities. He held that it was not right for either of the two communities to remain hostile towards one another.³²

Gandhi was of the view that communal dissension between the Hindus and Muslims were the creation of the British government which itself based on over all distrust of the Indians. He thought that untill the British rulers were eased out, the chances of communal harmony in India would be bleak.³³

While regarding the then prevalence of caste system in the Indian society as a biggest stumbling block in the way of secularism and the

caste ridden society could not properly secular. Pt. Nehru wanted to abolish caste system in society.

Whereas Gandhi, believing that the caste system as it then existed an anachronism, repeatedly made clear that it must be eliminated. He stressed that it must go if both Hinduism and India were to live and grow from day to day.³⁴

Nehru wanted establishment of socialist order first within national boundaries and eventually in the world as a whole, with controlled production and distribution of wealth for the public good.

Gandhi, on the other hand wanted to go back to villages not only a self-sufficient nation but almost a self-sufficient village. For Nehru, secularism goes with democracy and there can be no secularism if there is no freedom, liberty and equality. As a passionate and genuine defender of freedom he wrote :

"To crush a contrary opinion forcibly and allow it no expression, because we dislike it, is essentially of same genus as cracking the skull of an opponent because we disapprove of him".³⁵

Gandhi was a prophet of rural-mindedness and was a democratic humanitarian almost by instinct.³⁶ He, being a democrat of the masses having intense deviation of the concepts of moral and spiritual freedom, had a tremendous urge for political freedom. But he emphatically pleaded for freedom in the sense of national independence. At the same

time he never accepted the theory of freedom as arbitrariness of license. For him freedom was a process of growth in quest of an articulated system of coherent moral purposes and actions. He stressed that man who obtains freedom over his passions would not tolerate the social & economic exploitation.³⁷

While comparing the secularism of Nehru and Gandhi Donald Smith said :

"Gandhi's starting point was that of a religious man, who, believing all religions to be true, accepted a theory of state which fitted in with his belief; hence the secular state. Nehru's starting point was that of a practical political thinker and leaders who, while personally believing all religions to be mostly untrue, had to provide for their freedom to function peacefully without prejudicing the democratic system, hence the secular state."³⁸

It is well known to all of us that both Pt. Nehru and M.K. Gandhi had their hearts set on establishment of a polity based on secularism in free India, but there are many instances which indicate dichotomy in their thoughts and actions. Both of them tried hard to appease the minority communities at the cost of majority.

Although India claimed to be a secular state yet it enacted certain laws pertain to the Hindus only. Nehru got passed the Hindu Code Bill

which sought to modify Hindu laws regarding marriage, adoption, guardianship and woman's property rights. Many Hindus regarded such a move as direct invasion on traditional Hinduism. But he could not dare to bane polygamous marriage prevailing among Muslims in India despite of the fact that even the majority of Muslim countries had banned this practice since long back. Although he pleaded for the adoption of uniform civil code which he considered important for unity of India as well as survival of secularism. Yet he said that as Muslims were in a minority the Hindu majority should not wish to change Muslims personal law unless they themselves wanted it. This code was enacted for Hindus which included Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains, but not for Muslims, Parsis and Christians.³⁹ He and his party men even started throwing iftar parties and paying allowances for Maulvies from the state exchequer. He got initiated the scheme of providing financial assistance to the Muslims proceedings on Haj pilgrimage from the state exchequer. But he did nothing for Hindus pilgrimage proceedings on various pilgrim sites in India and in neighbouring countries. Though he propagated for secular education to all yet provisions were made to provide financial assistance to educational institutions run on religious basis like M.U. Aligarh and B.H.U. Moreover, Hindu's plea and protests to stop pre-empted mass conversion of Harijans to Christianity or Islam was viewed by him a pro-Hindu bias. On every occasion of communal strife they blamed the Hindus for that without going into details of incident. But where minority

community persons were found guilty they could never dare to utter a word against them so openly. In short, in the case of minority communities they tried to be tactful and shrewd.

Believing in the equality of all citizens irrespective of their caste and religion they expected all sort of concessions from Hindus only. Rather they tried to provide more and more concessions and privileges to the minority community. Their this policy created a feeling in the majority community that minority community or group persons were more than equal in India. Perhaps, they took all the Hindus for granted to abide by their irrelevant, whimsical as well as arbitrary dictates.

Pt. Nehru gave due weightage and importance to the caste and communal consideration when he nominated his party candidate in constituency on the basis of dominating caste or religious groups. He involved Govt. of India in the celebration of 500th Anniversary of Lord Buddha in 1956 though he justified his association with the celebration of birth of a great Indian. He, on the other hand, directed Dr. Rajinder Parshad, the then president of India, not to attend the ceremony of rebuilding of Somnath temple in Gujrat.

He got acts passed in the Parliament to take stringent action against those civil officials who failed to maintain laws and order and tranquil communal atmosphere in their respective areas. But not even a single officer was taken to task for not discharging his duties properly from 1950 to 1960 during which a number of communal riots took place.

He extended maximum protection and favour to the members of his caste. He generally preferred to keep a Chief Minister who was Brahmin. This can be justified if we go through the list of Chief Ministers during his tenure. Even Sayed Mir Quasim – The then Chief Minister of J&K once pointed out, "When I walk through the corridors of Parliament house I see so many resembling Kashmiri faces but to my utter surprise, none of them is a Muslim but they are all Kashmiri Pandits only".

He even never hesitated to wave off essential requirements for a particular job and accommodate underserving and not fully qualified officers for senior appointments. E.g. Lt. General B.M Koul was given the charge of 33 corps of Indian Army during 1962 war where as he was from the army service corps and did not possess the requisite infantry warfare know-how.⁴⁰

He had the traits of discourtesy also. He lacked the basic courtesy of attending the last rites of Sardar Patel who died in Bombay. He even went to the extent to ask Dr. Rajendra Parshad not to attend his funeral.⁴¹

I may conclude with the remarks that inspite of dichotomy in their thoughts and actions both Nehru and Gandhi contributed to the best of their abilities to the growth of the secularism and in the process of secularisation in India. Secularism in India, they believed, was nothing but a continuation of India's traditions of religious tolerance, scientific temper, rationalization and promotion of the spirit of enquiry. Both

wanted to make India united and strong where the people from all walks of life could be allowed to live in tranquil and peaceful manner with all the basic amenities of life. Their integrity and sincerity was above board. If there were any lapses in this regard, these were due to the system which they inherited from the Britishers.

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JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU AND SARDAR PATEL: THE DUUMVIRATE

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A keen student of history Nehru was well aware of the great role he was defined to play in the Indian as well as world history. He was conscious of the fact that his was a charismatic leadership and so was always under the burden of his own charisma. His leadership strategy was successful in keeping India together (after the partition) and launching it on the path of change and modernization.¹

Nehru is remembered for accelerating the pace of modernization in a predominately traditional society, regarded as a builder of modern India and his role as a nation builder has been well recognized and appreciated by all. As the first Prime Minister of free India, he played a significant role in determining the basic features of the Indian social set up, polity. Democracy, Socialism and Secularism and non-alignment can be considered his major contribution to modern India.²

A revolutionary thinker, Nehru was more loved and respected than followed. Because of his insistence on consensus and consensual politics, he had to compromise on many issues and ideas.

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A product of the national movement, knew very well his role as a national leader in the nation building activities and as such he would always put his own thought forcefully, persuade, cajole, but give way if not accepted. This revolutionary idealist had therefore, to be satisfied in the role of a social reformer than of a revolutionary.

The duo, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabh Bahi Patel, were in full control of the government in India, during the critical transaction period from 1947 to 1950. It was completely a strange combination of opposites. Michael Breacher felt that indeed, "no two leaders of any Asian Nationalist movement in the twentieth century differed more than the duumvirate of the new India-In background, education, temperament, ideology, sources of power, and qualities and defects to of leadership".³

There were other strong dissimilarities which had an imprint on the "future outlook and relationship of the duumvirs". As Nehru was a charming personality, generous to fault, sensitive and aesthetically inclined, impulsive and emotional. Patel was generally dour and ruthless, unimaginative and practical, blunt in speech and action, cool and calculating, never permitting his heart to rule his head. On the contrary Nehru was not at all interested in political lobbying, manipulations, introvert and solitary leader, above group loyalties. Patel had a liking for political maneuvering and a master of machine politics⁴. This is true that two men were distance away from each mentally and ideologically. Their temperamental and ideological incompatibility created a vertical split in the party and as long as they both lived, the government despite an ostensible façade of unity, remained divided into two groups. As a result of this rift, their government became an "illegitimate diarchy"⁵, that

create an atmosphere of gnawing administrative uncertainty and inaptitude among the bureaucrats and led to a messy unhealthy speculation and unseemly lobbying among politicians.

The two persons came from different backgrounds. Patel was thirteen years older in age to Nehru and was only seven years younger to Gandhiji. Patel came from Gujrati peasant stock and imbibed in his personality the strength and ruthlessness of sturdy peasants. Nehru, on the other hand, came from the family of Kashmiri Brahmins who because of legal background retained the innate urbanity and intellectual refinement of the late Victorian age. Nehru's education abroad enabled him to inculcate the intellectual sophistry of Fabian socialism and the 1917 revolution in Russia, left a deep imprint on his impressionable mind. Patel, on the other hand, was a conservative in character and outlook and despite his brief stint abroad, retained his rustic nativity and had a penchant for plain speaking and loud thinking. His rural background enabled him to develop a flair for hard hitting speeches. In addition, he was a first rate organizer and a party manager and to be the boss of a party machine came naturally to him. But this brought him in sharp conflict with Nehru, who loved power and did not wish to share it with anyone. As M.O. Mathai has pointed out "Power was Nehru's mistress and he did not like Patel to flirt with her; but he put up with it in the interest of a semblance of unity and harmony. Those were not normal times".⁶

On Congress Organization

As a young leader, Nehru did believe in creating a discipline cader for the Congress Party. He moved a Resolution at the all India

session in 1923 for the creation of an All-India Volunteer Organization. He was appointed President of the All-India Board. This volunteer force played an important role in mobilizing strength during the Civil Disobedience Movement. However, the organization did not last long. The Congress could neither become a cadre party nor discipline could be enthused in the party by any institutional device at the instance of Nehru.

The Brussels Congress of Oppressed Nationalities where he visited as the Congress representative was a milestone in his espousal of socialism. As an invitee he also went to Russia to attend the 10th Anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution. A socialist society became the ultimate objective for him with the realization that Congress was only fighting a struggle for political freedom. For some time during 1928-1930, he entered trade union politics, but his role was more as a sympathizer than of an active participant. In 1933, he wrote a series of articles 'Whither India' which sums up his socialist philosophy. Some younger leftist Congressmen were attracted to these writings and for them Nehru was their intellectual leader when they established the Congress Socialist Party. Though Nehru wished to push the Congress to the left Nehru never associated himself officially with this group, disappointing his admirers. Nevertheless his role was to give direction to the growing body of leftist opinion within the Congress Party⁷. Sardar Patel and Dr. Prasad were opposed to him and tried to thwart all efforts on his part to commit the Congress to socialist programme. The rightwing in the Congress collectively resigned from the Working Committee as a protest. His proposal to affiliate the trade unions and peasant

leagues was also turned down. Yet Nehru would not organize a group and favour establishment of an organization.

After 1947, Patel and Prasad continued their hostility to the socialistic ideas of Nehru. Patel's control over the party organization did not induce Nehru to devote his time to the party organization. Patel knew that he could not rival Nehru in popularity with the Indian masses, Nehru knew that Patel controlled the party machine and would never use the party to challenge him. There were occasions when the rift between Patel and Nehru would come to surface, but love for the Congress Party, its unity and considerations of the national exigencies and also their promise to Mahatma Gandhi averted the rift. In Nasik session of the Congress Purushottamadas Tandon was chosen as the President defeating Acharya Kripalani. They were said to be the candidates of Patel and Nehru respectively, but though Nehru had a grudge against Tandon for his orthodox ideas of right wing and his belief that the Cabinet must subserve to the Congress High Command, etc. he did not clearly make his position known. After the death of Patel in 1950, factional strife became alarming. The Right Wing was in revolt against the left and left was drifting away from the Congress Party. It was only when Tandon became overbearing and challenging even the authority of Nehru that a situation was created compelling the resignation of Tandon from the Presidentship. The Congress High Command surrendered to the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister combined in himself two offices of the Party President and the Government Head. Supremacy of the parliamentary wing of the party over the party organization was established, contrary to the democratic parliamentary traditions.

The Congress Party continued to be an umbrella party allowing an ideological mix differently interpreting the socialistic pattern of society. Nehru had the opportunity to give the political party system an ideological orientation and allow polarization into a conservative party and a socialist party, but his love for the Congress movement and his erstwhile colleagues though belonging to the right wing, this was not to happen. Nehru's personality could afford him to take the risk but the party unity he misconceived as unity of the Nation. He was not an institution builder, but a statesman and thinker. To take the country towards socialist goals, a strong disciplined committed party was necessary, and also for the proper functioning of parliamentary democracy. True that a Socialist Party was established, rather there were many other parties that were brought into existence, but the Congress alone could have its hold on the multitude of voters because of its record and more so because of the charismatic leadership. Nehru tried to enthuse idealism in the ruling party composed of rival groups and interests, which had mastered the techniques of using the high sounding words without meaning these in actual practice.⁸

The ideological cleavage between these two dated back to the era of liberation struggle. It had its origin in the period of national movement for freedom and as far back as 1936. Nehru's socialist leanings brought him in sharp conflict with the right-winger Congressmen led by Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad. It was to register their protest against Nehru's commitment to socialism that they resigned from the Congress Working Committee in June 1936 and withdrew their resignation only when Mahatma Gandhi intervened. But differences persisted and Sardar Patel made no

secret of his ideological cleavage with Nehru when he said "on some vital matters my views are in conflict with those held by Jawaharlalji⁹". He had expressed these views while withdrawing in favour of Jawaharlal Nehru on the eve of Faizpur session of Congress in 1936. On this occasion he had issued a long-winded statement to clarify his ideological position. He said, "I shall gladly welcome the election of many of my colleagues and cooperate with him in another capacity in the great enterprise we have undertaken. Should however, the choice of my countryman fall on me, I dare not say 'no' to it. I shall submit to their pleasure. But before they so decide they must realise fully what I stand for, what thoughts move me, what the springs of action are for me in speech and writing. I have given enough indication of this and from this I want to be judged".¹⁰

Thus difference existed even earlier but they did not come into open largely on account of the exigencies of the times. During the period of national movement, the basic aim was country's independence and everything else was second. Differences of outlook and strategy were not allowed to impede the speed and tempo of national movement. But with independence granted, these differences were bound to come to the fore. The fear of alien imperialists was no longer there to keep the ranks of politicians closed. Now the choice was between vision and action. Nehru was a visionary and the Sardar was a practical man's doer of things and an organizer par excellence. Several unsavory situations soured and embittered relations between the duumvirate.

On Communalism

On communalism, the two were poles apart. Nehru was an agonistic and a humanist and was the creature of a composite Hindu, Muslim and Western culture whereas Patel was a staunch Hindu who really never trusted the Muslims of India¹¹. The communal situation in India in 1947 exposes their different approach to this problem. In 1947, communal rights broke in Ajmer. Nehru sent his principal private secretary H.V.R. Iyengar to Ajmer to study the situation. Sardar Patel took exception to it as he thought this matter came under his jurisdiction. Acrimony between the two started and Nehru wrote to Patel. I am myself very unhappy about the trend of events and the difficulties that have arisen between you and me. It seems that our approaches are different however much we may respect each other and the issues that have arisen between you and me have to be considered very carefully and objectively by all of us. If I am to continue as Prime Minister I cannot have my freedom restricted and I must have a certain liberty of direction otherwise it is better for me to retire¹². To this Sardar Patel replied. "I have no desire to restrain your liberty of direction in manner.... But when it is clear that on the fundamental question of our respective spheres of responsibility authority and action there is such a vital difference of opinion between us it would not be in the interest of the cause which we both wish to serve to continue to pull on longer".¹³

Communalism was not the sole on which two held divergent views other issues too divided them. Nehru was always fascinated by problems of international politics and his goodwill tour of United

States in 1949 was intended to open in new vistas of opportunities and challenges to India but Sardar Patel's detachment from international politics was so complete that he looked upon such visits with utter indifference. Giving his reactions to this visit he said, "we have to get on with the job here. Of what use is the fanfare of a trip with speeches and all".¹⁴

On Parliamentary Institution

Although Nehru desired that a habit of looking at the parliament as arbiter of disputes be developed, many important decisions of far-reaching consequences were taken outside the Indian Parliament by Nehru himself and even outside the cabinet. The institution of Planning Commission and the various decisions setting the issues of states reorganization are some examples.

Nehru tried to institute very important conventions in the working of the parliamentary institutions, but certain deviations assumed disproportion after Nehru. Dismissal of the democratically elected government in Kerala (belonging to Communist party) in 1959 on the pretext popular agitation against the Govt. was very much criticized. Factionalism and defections brought the Congress rule in the states of PEPSU (1952), Andhra (1954), Travancore (1956) and Kerala (1964) to termination, earlier defections in Indian politics were a one way traffic when many left the Congress organization for ideological or personal conflicts. After the first general elections however defections were encouraged by the Congress Party lead by Nehru, the reason being that in four states PEPSU, Orissa, Madras and Travancore the Congress party though invited to form the government did not possess the absolute

majority. C. Rajagopalachari was sent to Madras who succeeded in winning over 16 opposition legislators to join the Congress. Then two way traffic started. Four State Governments ruled by the Congress had to go out of office during the life time of Nehru because of defections, and four other State Governments were able to complete their term. Nehru could have halted the second way. As many as 542 legislators had defected many of whom from opposition parties to the Congress.

Nehru did not favour that the office of the Speaker should be non- partisan. Vitthalbahi Patel and Shanmukham Chetty had laid the well established conventions of parliamentary democracy that the Speakers should resign from the membership of the political party after election to the office. The Conference of Presiding Officers of Legislative Assemblies held in 1951 and 1953 opted for the British convention, but Nehru did not favour it. He did not favour that the Speaker once elected should continue as Speaker all through his life. "the Speakers should stand for election like other candidates either as party candidates or as independents¹⁵". The Congress working Committee endorsed this view leading to the convention that the office of the Speaker is a party office. Because of the partisan attitude of the Speaker there were occasions when resolutions to remove the Speakers were moved in the legislatures. In 1954, G.V. Mavalankar had to face such a resolution. Many of the speakers were even denied party tickets in elections which meant that the speakers were required to subserve the party interests. The parliamentary system in India had come under stress and strain because of the partisan functioning of the Speakers after Nehru.

On the real position of the prime Minister in a parliamentary set up too the two held different views. Nehru thought that the Prime Minister was always something more than the first among equals and had a vital and crucial role to play as the symbolic head of government. The Sardar thought otherwise and said "in my view the Prime Minister as the leader of the party and the head of the whole administration is inevitably concerned that Cabinet decisions are effective and that there is no conflict between one Ministry and another. But the entire responsibility for implementing the policy of government rests upon the Ministers and the Ministers under which are concerned with the subject matter of cabinet decisions. He has according the right to ask for information from the minister concerned as well as the right to consult and on the lines of policy to be adopted and even the manner in which the policy is to be implemented. But the responsibility for the implementation of the policy must be that of the Ministry concerned and of the Minister incharge, and the Prime Minister should influence action by way of consultation with and advice to the minister".¹⁶

Era of Co- operation and Conflict

After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, it was hoped that the two leaders would sink their differences and work unitedly but it did not happen and their ~~dis~~positional differences persisted. Nehru's excessive reliance on friendship with China, dismayed Patel, who, referring to the occupation of Tibet by China wrote to Nehru, "The tragedy of it is that Tibet put faith in us.... and we have been unable to get them out of the wishes of Chinese diplomacy. Chinese malevolence.... I doubt if we can go any further than we have done

already to convince China of our good intentions, friendliness and goodwill.”¹⁷ About the way China responded to India’s note of protest and, blaming her of acting under foreign influence, Patel observed, “It looks as though it is not a friend speaking in that language but a potential enemy.... Recent and better history also tells us that communism is no shield against imperialism and that the communists are as good or as bad imperialists as any other. Chinese ambitions in this respect not only cover the Himalayan slopes on our side but also include important parts of.... Assam”.¹⁸ Thus assessing the needs of geo-political situation, he administered a warning to Nehru that “In my judgement, therefore, the situation is one in which we cannot afford either to be complacent or to be vacillating. We must have a clear idea of what we wish to achieve and also of the methods by which we should achieve it. Any faltering or lack of decisiveness in formulating our objectives is bound to weaken us and increase the threats which are so evident.”¹⁹

Thus the two leaders held widely divergent views on many matters. Not only they differed on vitals, even not so important matters sometimes divided them. Thus during the absence of Nehru to USA in 1948, Patel made the Congress Working Committee pass a resolution which permitted RSS worker to join the Congress. When Nehru returned from his state visit, he was furious and got the resolution annulled in a subsequent meeting.

Sardar Patel’s love for Sir C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar remains an engima and a mystery. Aiyar was the man who made the ruler of Travancore declare his state to be independent and even name a High Commissioner for Pakistan. Patel invited him to Delhi and suggested to Nehru to appoint him India’s Ambassador to United

States in place of Asif Ali, Nehru was taken a back and he rejected the suggestion summarily.

Thus the dummvirate differed on fundamentals as well as on non-essentials but they did not part company and to the outsider, always gave the impression of a joint leadership. Nehru, in his radio address to the nation, tried to scatch rumours of his split with Patel when he said, "Of Course, there have been for many years past differences between us, temperamental and other, in regard to many problems. But India at least should know that these differences have been overshadowed by fundamental agreements about the most important aspects of our public life and that we have cooperated together for a quarter of a century of more in great undertakings.... Is it likely that at this crisis in our national destiny either of us should be petty-minded and think of anything but the national good? May I pay my tribute of respect and admiration to Sardar Patel."²⁰

Patel himself was conscious of Nehru's personal propinquity to Mahatma Gandhi and on at least three occasions in 1929, 1936 and 1946 was persuaded by Mahatma Gandhi to withdraw his candidature in favour of Nehru- the last time to relinquish his claims to Prime Ministership. This time twelve out of fifteen provincial Congress Committees favoured Patel for the Prime-Ministership of the country but Gandhiji intervened and Patel was persuaded to step down. Patel knew that Nehru had primacy of place in the affections of Mahatma Gandhi. In a private letter to Nehru he once wrote "We were all sorry to find that you were so angry.... And we felt that you were less than fair to Bapu (Gandhi)....

He feels hurt when your feelings are wounded. I do not think that he loves anybody more than he loves you.”²¹ (Emphasis added).

While the two held firm on each other's ground each was conscious of the strength of the other and found in complementarity and cooperation their best solution. Each knew the other pitfalls and failings and were capable of destroying each other in a fratricidal struggle. Theoretically Patel could have destroyed Nehru because of his hold on Party but it is open to doubt if he could have carried the nation with him in view of his old age, falling health and total disenchantment with the minorities. It was the last consideration, perhaps more than any other that weighed with Gandhiji when he chose Nehru as the first Prime Minister bypassing the claims of Sardar Patel. For the Indian nation, Nehru symbolized the vision of new India and Patel the strength of India. Mahatma Gandhi was not only the inspiration but also the ultra-stable regulator of the system. Despite their contrasting dispositions and conflicting ideologies the two steered together the ship of the state and prevented a vertical split in the party largely because of the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. As Michael Brecher has pointed out “Rivalry between the duumvirs was undoubtedly genuine but it was higher exaggerated by cliques of civil servants and politicians devoted to one or the other leader”.²² The important thing is not that they differed but that despite vast differences in outlook they combined together in action and acted in a spirit of cooperation, compromise and accommodation. This habit of compromise was legacy of their strong association and attachment with Mahatma Gandhi and it proved stranger than ideology. “On the whole”, observer Michael Brecher, the two men adjusted reasonably well to the many stresses, personal

and political which beset the relationship, though towards the end sharp conflict came to the fore, primarily over policy towards Pakistan and social change."²³

On integration of Princely States

"If the integration of several hundred princely states," writes Geoffrey Tyston in "Nehru", had not been carried out with a skilled and sure hand by the late Vallabh Bhai Patel the sub-continent might easily have suffered division into a third major segment in which the smaller princely states would have grouped themselves round the more powerful rulers in independent balkanization of a large part of the land".²⁴

The gravest danger to Indian unity and integrity during the period of duumvirate was Balkalisation, the dispersion of power among hundreds of petty principalities scattered over the subcontinent." As long as the Britishers were in command there was no threat to Indian unity, but with the transfer of power, "it assumed strategic importance" A number of question arose, to whom would the Princes own allegiance once the transfer of power was executed, to the Indian or Pakistan Governments as the successive authorities or to no one? Did they have the legal power to proclaim themselves independent? If so, it was sure that the entire structure build by the British during the proceeding two centuries would collapse and return to political chaos.²⁵

The challenge was met by the duumvirate with clear vision and statesmanship and with in a year of independence the problem of the Integration of Princely states had become a part of history. It was

a bloodless revolution without parallel in the century, comparable with the unification of Germany and Italy by Bismark and Cavour."²⁶ Nehru had also recognized without reservations the role played by Patel in the integration of states. While speaking in the Constituent Assembly on 5 March 1948 he emphatically said, "In the manner of dealing with the situation an intricate and difficult situation we owe a debt of gratitude to my friend and colleague the Deputy Prime Minister" (Patel).²⁷ On 8 March 1945 without mincing words Nehru said "building up of India as a single organized political unit, the Deputy Prime Minister has played a supremely vital part."²⁸

The campaign i.e. the integration of Princely states, was carried out with military efficiency mainly with three planks accession, democratization and integration. The Instrument of Accession was an ingesting device to fill the gap, emerged after the lapse of the British Paramountcy over the states. Through it the Rulers transferred to the Government of India Control over the three subjects which had formerly been the care of the Paramount Power, namely defence, foreign affairs and communications. All other areas were under the direct control and supervision of the Princes. Patel adopted the combination of persuasion, cajolery, bribery and the lack of sufficient military power on the part of the princes to adopt the path of independence. All but three Kashmir, Junagarh and Hyderabad, with international implications, acceded to India before the formal transfer of power on 15 August 1947.²⁹

Junagarh was to the South- West of Kathiawar, surrounded by Indian states on all sides except in the South and South -West lies the Arabian sea. The state had no links with Pakistan by land. The population according to the census of 1946, numbered 6,70,719 out

of which 80% present were Hindus. Its ruler Sir Mahabat Khan was a Muslim.³⁰

On 15 August 1947, Junagarh after anxious consideration and careful balancing of all factors announced her decision to acceded to Pakistan.³¹ V.P.Menon, then Secretary of the States Ministry and right hand man of Patel, was deputed to persuade the Nawab to change his decision but Menon reported back to New Delhi without any results.³² In the meanwhile, the situations in Junagarh deteriorated. On 27 October Shah Nawaz Bhutto, the Dewan of Junagarh wrote to Jinnah, describing the adverse results which had followed in the wake of Junagarh's accession to Pakistan. He wrote, "our principal source of revenue, railways and customs have gone to the bottom, food situation situation is terribly embarrassing"³³. There were tremendous difficulties in the way of the Dewan to carry on the administration on account of the periodic raids by the Arzi Hakumat (Provisional Government) which had been set up in Bombay by the subjects of the ruler of Junagarh. He invited the Indian Government to take up the reins of administration.³⁴ Subsequently on 9 November 1947, India took over the administration of Junagarh. The Government of Pakistan protested against the Indian action and demanded that the Nawab should be reinstated.³⁵

A plebiscite was held on 20 February 1948 and of the total 2,01,457 registered voters 1,90,870 exercised their right of franchise and 91% cast their vote in India favour.³⁶ Pakistan declared the Indians actions as an act of aggression against Pakistan and lodged a complaint with the Security Council.³⁷

Hyderabad

The state of Hyderabad was surrounded by the Central Province on the north, Bombay in the west and Madras in the east had its own coins, paper currency and postal stamps.³⁷ It was ruled by a Muslim, but the majority of the population was Hindus. Moreover, its status had long been recognised as somewhat above all other Princely States, the Nizam was Exalted Highness and Faithful ally of the British crown. It was large enough to be viable independent state." If Muslim aristocracy was determined not to give up its entrenched position without a struggle. Moreover, Hyderabad was maintaining a substantial fighting force, about 50,000 regular and irregular Razakars estimated about at 200,000. possibly with the support of British and Pakistan which considered Hyderabad as a Muslim brethren and an ideal ally against India, the Nizam had hoped to maintain a large measure of independence³⁸.

Nizam did not accede to Pakistan but issued a farman to remain independent. On 29 November 1947, India and Hyderabad signed a Stand Still Agreement and it was expected that it would ultimately be followed by accession of Hyderabad to India. The delay in the decision to accede was considered a stopgap measure to strengthen its independence.³⁹

Meanwhile, negotiations between India and Hyderabad conducted to solve the issue. Hyderabad did not agree for accession and New Delhi was adamant. Finally, "On the grounds of atrocities against Hyderabadis Hindus, the imprisonment of 10,000 Congressmen in the state border incidents imperiling the neighbouring territory of India, an alarming evidence of alliance

between the fanatical Razakars and the communists".⁴⁰ The government of India moved in on 13 September 1948, under the command of Major General J.N. Choudhary. On the evening of 17 September, the Nizam forces surrendered and replaced by a civil administration.⁴¹

The basic reason for Indian concern about the Princely States, most especially about the fate of Hyderabad was cogently stated by Sir Reginald Coupland : "an India deprived of the States would have lost all coherence. They stand between all four quarters of the country. If no more than the central Indian states and Hyderabad and the Mysore were excluded from the union, the union provinces would be almost completely cut off from Bombay and Bombay completely from Sind. The strategic and economic implications are obvious. India could live if its Moslem limbs in the north-west and north east were imputed, but could it live without its midriff".⁴²

Nehru's role in the integration of Princely States was negligible, but was the greatest triumph of the duumvirate. Patel and Menon carried out all negotiations and taken day to day decisions. Yet, it would be erroneous to disregard as so many Indians have Nehru's contribution to the policy decision and more important to the shaping of the Congress attitude to the princes during the fifteen years proceeding independence". He was instrumental in the establishment of the States Ministry to carry out all negotiations and take day to day decisions. The duumvirs were always remained in constant touch and consultation about every matter related with integration. Patel had never at his own taken any issue affecting the states without securing Nehru's approval. On Kashmir Nehru alone framed policy, taken decisions and got them implemented. The integration of states was

Patel's master achievement, an historic contribution to the consolidation of India. Nehru's role was secondary but none of the less important. He set the objectives and general terms. Patel achieved them with consummate skill.

It may added in passing that one of the reasons which prevented a sharp conflict was Patel's falling health and his advancing age. Both incapacitated him a little and he was incapable of putting up a sustained and a prolonged battle for political survival and supremacy and he chose to go slow and accept the inevitable. On 5 March, 1948, he suffered a severe heart attack and was nearly crippled. On 15 December, 1950, he finally passed away and paved the way for the ascendancy of Jawaharlal in a big way.

Thus elements and nature too favoured Jawaharlal and indeed India, as a prolonged internecine feud between these two mighty potentates at a crucial period would have irreparably damaged India. A geographically vivisected, politically split and economically weakened India of 1947-50 could ill afforded the luxury of vertical split and it was a tribute to the two statesmen that they never allowed their differences to go beyond a permissible limit. It was a measure of their statesmanship that two never allowed their personal differences to take the better of them and acted with caution and restraint.

FOOTNOTES

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GANDHI, NEHRU AND BOSE

BY

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Among India's nationalist leaders in the inter-war years, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were, next to the Mahatma, the most charismatic figures. They seemed to have much in common. Both came from westernized homes; both were sons of successful lawyers who could afford to give them the best education available in India or England. Nature endowed them both with beauty and brains; their Cambridge degrees enhanced their pride and self-confidence. Both managed to escape the comfortable anonymity of the Indian Civil Service- the el Dorado of brilliant and ambitious middle class youth. Jawaharlal entered the legal profession and became his father's junior at the Allahabad High Court; Bose successfully competed for the I.C.S., but resigned from it within a year, because it was impossible "to serve both masters at the same time, namely, the British Government and my country."¹

Both Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose were full of nationalist fervour while they were still in their teens. Jawaharlal's letters from Harrow and Cambridge reveal a strong nationalist streak, and deep sympathy with Tilak's school of extremist politics. The

patriotism of Subhas Bose had led to clash with his British professors and his rustication from Calcutta's Presidency College for two years. Eighteen months at Cambridge did not dampen his nationalist ardour.

Stirred to his depths by the accounts of the non-cooperation movement, he threw up his job in the I.C.S., and decided to take his place in the fight for the freedom of his country.

It is a singular fact that both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose entered politics at a high level; young Nehru at once became a favourite disciple of the Mahatma, and Bose did not take long to become the political heir-apparent of C. R. Das, 'the uncrowned King of Bengal. By the late twenties, both Jawaharlal and Subhas were the heroes of India's youth and the *bete noires* of the British authorities.

Subhas Bose once described Jawaharlal as 'his friend in arms.' Jawaharlal and Bose could indeed have become 'friends-in-arms',² but circumstances conspired to prevent this consummation. Apart from their intellectual and temperamental differences, what divided them was their response to Gandhi's personality and politics. The leadership of the Mahatma, which had originally sucked them both into the vortex of nationalist politics prevented them from coming together.

Of all the Stalwarts of India's freedom struggle, Subhas Chandra Bose, popularly known as Netaji came under the influence of Gandhi and his teachings. Bose had very high regard for Gandhi as a man, as is evident from his broadcasts from abroad on Gandhi's birthday and Kasturba's death. Gandhi

believed in non-violence which Bose did not consider a very efficacious means in politics. Both differed on ideological grounds. But the national cause was dear to both. They shared the hopes and aspirations and dreamt the same lofty dreams.

The relationship between Gandhi and Bose and Gandhi and Nehru, despite their temperamental differences and conflicting attitudes, retained its sheen because of the conviction in their hearts that each, in his own way, served the causes of the nation. Freedom for India was a cause to which they willingly gave their all, in the pursuit of the objective, each struck to his ideas, refused to make any compromise or be accommodated the views of the other because their stances were, almost always, diametrically opposed when Bose, who had at first been drawn to Gandhi, slowly drifted apart, unable fully to go along with Gandhi's non-violence in the face of the militancy of the regime, the break was notable one. But when Bose stood defiantly against Gandhi's candidate Pattabhi Sita Rammayya and the right to preside over the Indian National Congress. Gandhi considered it as his own defeat.³ The turmoil which rocked the party which defied the Gandhi, but shied away once the members saw the deep anguish they had caused to the apostle of non-violence, ended with Bose's complete alienation from Gandhi, as far as political strategy was concerned. The mutual regard they had for each other lingered on, but there was much rancor and fury which forced Bose to trail a lonely path. Unable to adjust to the changing scenario, convinced that the time was ripe for Indian fighters to exploit the situations which had developed after the outbreak of the Second World War and the continuous reverses that Britain

and the allied powers suffered, he decided to align with Germany and Japan on the prior condition that after the cessation of hostilities, India would be accepted by the Axis power as a free and Independent nation. This quest took him out of the India. His dramatic escape and the trail of glory which he blazed during the short but impressive days of the Indian National Army inspires us even today. His reported tragic death in an air crash ended the saga. But the nation remembers him with love and respect.

Subhas Chandra Bose, presumably earned so much admiration and laurels for the saga of demonstrated courage, vision and sacrifice and at the same time have been the target of an equal amount of condemnation as a political personality of the Indian National Movement just because for his arrogance, refusal to compromise and seeming lack of realism. He was one of the most acclaimed heroes fighting for India's liberation from the yoke of British colonial rule; as a national leader he enjoyed equal status with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but to many his personality was most attractive of the three and his reputation in certain area even rivalled that of Gandhi himself. In his manner and political style, in ideology and action, Bose represents a unique phenomenon in India's national Movement. While Gandhi has been viewed as the father of Indian Awakening. Bose is seen as the father of Indian Revolution.⁴

Both Nehru and Bose entered the political arena at a time when Gandhi was the undisputed leader of the Indian National Congress. Bose himself recorded in his book *The Indian Struggle 1920-34*: "So great was the enthusiasm and respect in the people about Gandhi at AICC session at Nagpur in 1920 that when M.A.

Jinnah, who was still then a nationalist leader, addressed him as Mr. Gandhi, he was shouted down by the thousands of people who insisted that he should address him as Mahatma Gandhi"⁵

Subhas Chandra Bose was a pragmatic revolutionary strategist and a politician of top order who had to innovate conceptual ideas on strategy at a time when there was very little intellectual framework for coping with the practical problems of politics, Nehru was also very much like him. Their conceptual ideas were, indeed, unique in the sense that the domestic frame of his multifaceted struggle was inseparable from the external linkages that he sought to develop and cultivate. Thus, their vision of politics in general was an all-encompassing one and in that sense one might suggest that he laid his faith in a general theory of strategy with all its linkage components. Having developed their framework they sought to apply all their theoretical concepts to test them on the slippery ground of politics of his time.

Basically, Bose's struggle was for a state that was nonexistent as a free political entity and for a country that had lost its dignity in the comity of nations because of an imposed colonial bondage. His youthful dream, as he wrote to his mother, was merely to be 'an adventurer', but in the end he emerged to many Indian revolutionaries as the 'Man of Destiny' or 'Netaji'-the revered leader-who could have delivered the Indian nation not merely its freedom and independence but also the much cherished development, equality and social justice as well as restore India's lost prestige in the comity of nations; but the fateful events of history had cut short his mission and did not permit him to immediately deliver what he had visualised.⁶

An overview of the Gandhi-Subhas ideology clash reveals a sense of anxiety that both had with regard to the future goal India was to strive for. Gandhi's end was Sarvodaya - the all round development of man and society, which included, of course, both moral and material betterment. This was a part of his ideal i.e. the emergence of a new man and a new society. His Sarvodaya was inclusive of the socialism of his conception, but he gave priority to moral rehabilitation. Bose gave prominence to ending economic suffering and exploitation, by, bringing about in India a Socialist state of their conception.

About the immediate goal, namely, India's Independence, the trio was one. But there certainly was anxiety in both as to the technique they advocated and adopted to achieve their goals, both immediate and future.

As a genuine leaders Bose and Nehru had proved how-to sacrifice everything for the for the sake of attaining one of his biggest and cherished goals in life, that is, to liberate the Motherland India from the clutches of British imperialism. They were not interested in just negotiation for transfer of power from the British hand to Indian hands by breaking the country into two parts: India and Pakistan. He was aware that some leaders were interested to act as "power brokers" between them and the mischievous colonialist. While fighting the British Subhas clearly stated that Britain is India's enemy and Britain's enemy is India's friend. It was his strong sense of nationalism that distinguished him from others. Mahatma Gandhi called Bose "patriot of patriots" and Nehru as a jewel among men.⁷

Gandhi wanted to have the support, or at least sympathy, of all sections of society. The path of least internal confrontation, according to Gandhi, was the best course to tread for the realization of the immediate and the future goals. Gandhi, therefore, wanted to bring the Congress Socialists to the line of his non-violence. He also wanted them to adopt indigenous socialism of the spinning wheel, with economic and political decentralization as its chief characteristics. This, he hoped could be brought about non-violently by arousing man to his latent moral values.

Both Jawahar and Subhas, on the other hand, believed that Gandhi's idealism, both in terms of the objectives and the technique for their realization, was cut off from the objective conditions of life existing in India. They found the Indian owning class - the capitalists and the landlords - and its foreign protectors -- the British - too selfish to respond to Gandhi's appeals to their conscience and reason. Therefore, Bose had no patience with Gandhi's patience to bring about a change heart in the native and foreign exploiters.

Whatever their differences may be Subhas always respected Gandhi from the core of his heart and always sought his blessings. "It will be a tragic thing for us," said Subhas, immediately after this episode, "if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest son."⁸ Subhas was the first man who called Gandhi "Father of the Nation" and asked for his blessings for INA.⁹

Gandhi always admired the bravery, self-sacrifice, patriotism, and organisational capability of Subhas and used to

ask the other Congress leaders to learn these qualities from Bose. Speaking at a prayer meeting in 1946, he said: "Netaji [Subhas] was like a son to me. I came to know him as a lieutenant full of promise. His last message to the INA was that, whilst on foreign soil they had fought with arms, on their return to India they would have to serve the country as soldiers of nonviolence under the guidance and leadership of the Congress."¹⁰

Undoubtedly these illustrious sons of India had deep personal regard for each other, in spite of their equally deep differences over matters of public policy. In fact, their relations bear testimony to Gandhi's formula that difference of opinion is no bar to union of hearts. This conforms to his experience that our differences may be the result of looking at the truth from different angles and not the result of any evil design on the part of the opponent. Accordingly, one should bear with the views of the opponent even while remaining steadfast to one's own convictions.

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GANDHI AND NEHRU

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Great men in all generations have been anxious, above everything else, for the improvement of the lot of human beings all over the world. Sometimes what happens is that even if the ultimate goal is the same, the means to achieve that goal can be many and varied. And this difference of approach even to achieve the same end can generate a lot of controversy. This is precisely what happened between The Father of Nation, Mahatma Gandhi and The Maker of the Modern India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It has been widely held that while Gandhi was the Sun of the nationalism around which all the planets of the Indian National Congress revolved, Nehru was a star that pursued an orbit of its own. Though Gandhi used to say very fondly 'Jawahar will speak my language when I am gone'

'I was bowled over by Gandhi straight off'. This is how Nehru described Gandhi's first impact on him¹. In his *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal compared Gandhi's advent on the Indian political scene to "a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths, like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes."² Jawaharlal not only fell under Gandhi's spell, but drew his father, and indeed his whole family within the Mahatma's orbit. Despite the twenty years and differences in their

intellectual make-up, which divided young Nehru and Gandhi, a strong bond of deep affection developed between them.

Jawaharlal completely immersed himself in the non-cooperation movement. Gandhi's suspension of civil disobedience after Chauri Chaura in February 1922 came as a shock to him.³ He did not, however, align himself with the Swarajist revolt. After Gandhi's release from prison in 1924, he was continually in touch with him, taking part in the promotion of Khadi, and other 'constructive' activities which happened to engage the Mahatma's attention.

After his visit to Europe in 1926-7, Jawaharlal visibly outgrew the social and political framework of the Congress Party. He denounced feudalism, capitalism and imperialism, and advocated the organisation of workers, peasants and students. Jawaharlal's radical utterances inevitably jarred on Gandhi and the Congress leaders, including his own father.

There is no doubt about the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru owed his position in the Congress to Mahatma Gandhi. For the Lahore Presidentship of Indian National Congress three names were suggested. Five Provincial Committees suggested name of Mahatma Gandhi, three recommended Sardar Patel's name while two recommended the name of Jawaharlal Nehru.⁴ Gandhi refused to accept the Presidentship, the majority of the Congress men were expecting that he would welcome the nomination of Sardar Patel, the Hero of Bardoli, his most dependable Lieutenant. But when Gandhi suggested the name of Jawaharlal Nehru, the general body of Congressmen especially senior leaders who felt that they have been superseded, were astonished. For one thing, it was considered odd that a son should succeed his father to the Congress throne, and for another, there was regret that Sardar Patel's outstanding services has been overlooked. When Durga Dass the author of 'India from Curzon to

Nehru' learned from private sources that Gandhi had succumbed to pressure from Motilal, he approached Gandhi to know the facts. The latter told him that, "Motilal had repeated with greater emphasis the argument put forward in his letter of July 1928, that Jawaharlal represented Youth and dynamism. He had agreed with Motilal, and the choice was particularly appropriate when Congress was about to launch a fresh struggle. He added that Sardar Patel would be with him in any case and that he was strengthening the movement by joining Jawaharlal in as an active leader. The Sardar would be an obvious choice for the next session."⁵

Jawaharlal himself felt humiliated over his election in this manner. He recorded in his autobiography, "I have seldom felt quite so annoyed and humiliated as I did at that election. It was not that I was not sensible of the honour, for it was a great honour, and I would have rejoiced if I had been elected in the ordinary way. But I did not come to it by the main entrance or even a side entrance; I appeared suddenly by a trap door and bewildered the audience into acceptance. They put a brave face on it, and, like a necessary pill, swallowed me; my pride was hurt, and almost I felt like handing back the honour."⁶

Jawaharlal Nehru again became the President of the Congress at its Lucknow session in March 1936 and then in Faizpur session in December, 1936. The decision was as usual, primarily that of Gandhi. IN a letter to Jawaharlal on September 4, 1935 Gandhi wrote, "Unless there is an insuperable bar you should take charge of the Congress ship next year."⁷ Despite the persuasion of Rajagopalachari, Dr. Ansari and Sardar Patel to the contrary, Gandhi was keen that Jawaharlal should once again accept the responsibility even it is caused some embarrassment to some senior leaders of the Congress. Sardar Patel and Bhulabhai suggested the name of Rajagopalachari. In reply to a letter by Sardar Patel, Gandhi wrote on September 13, 1935, "Rajaji

thinks you want to talk to him about the crown of thorns and says that, if it is so, your effort will be wasted. He says that he has given no assurance at all to Bhulabhai. He is in no condition just now to accept the crown. He is extremely tried both physically and mentally. With his 'consent' I have written to Jawaharlal and asked him...."⁸ When Jawaharlal actually accepted the offer, Gandhi congratulated him, "Your Presidency is the rightest thing", he said "that could have happened for the country".⁹ The Working Committee accepted Gandhi's suggestion as the only way of avoiding bitter controversy.

The atmosphere at the Lucknow Congress in April 1936 was surcharged with tension. Nehru was conscious of the fact that the Socialists were in a minority in the Congress, and therefore, he included only three of them, Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan and Narendra Deva in the Congress Working Committee, and gave the remaining eleven seats to the old guard, the so called Gandhiites. But the new Working Committee found it hard to settle down as a happy family.¹⁰

The Socialists were anxious to drive their advantage home; the older leaders were suspicious and nervous; and Nehru himself was on edge. By the end of June the crisis came to a head, when seven members of the Working Committee sent in their resignations to Nehru. The argument of these members was that it was premature and even suicidal for the Congress to raise the social issue when the main political issue, that of Indian freedom, remained unresolved.

The Congress Party was still illegal in North West Frontier Province and parts of Bengal; its organization was in disarray; it had to contend on the one hand with inertia and internal dissensions, and on the other with British hostility. Anti-Congress forces, such as landlords and feudal elements in U.P., were being bolstered up by the government. Since a general election was due at the end of the year,

the Socialist slogan of class struggle could prove costly to the Congress, because barely ten per cent – and largely the propertied class – of the population was entitled to vote.

Gandhi saw that the drift towards disintegration needed to be checked, if the Congress was to survive as an efficient instrument of the struggle against British rule. He insisted on the withdrawal of the resignations of the members of the working Committee, and vetoed the reference of the dispute to the All India Congress Committee on the grounds that public discussion could only aggravate differences among the leaders, confuse the public and ruin the party's chances at the election. "I am firmly of opinion," the Mahatma wrote, "that during the remainder of the year all wranglings should cease, and no resignations should take place." He played down the crisis and described it as a 'tragi-comedy', and pulled up Nehru for his edginess: "If they (the members of the Congress Working Committee) are guilty of intolerance, you have more than your share of it. The country should not be made to suffer for your mutual intolerance."¹¹

Nehru was prudent enough not to heed the advice of the hotheads among his admirers who were urging him to extreme course. If he had broken with Gandhi and the Congress in 1936, he would have dealt a blow not only to the Congress, but to his own political future. It was obvious that so long as Gandhi remained at the helm of the Congress, it was unlikely that any rival nationalist party could emerge or compete with it. The founding, or even the running of a political party, was not Nehru's *métier*. He could sway the masses, inspire intellectuals, reel off press statements and articles, run the A.I.C.C. Office, and travel from one end of the country to the other, but he was not cut out for the role of a founder or manager of a party. He did not possess Gandhi's gift for discovering, training and harnessing to the national cause men and women of varying abilities and temperaments.

In any case, Nehru had no doubt, that a mass struggle against the government without the Mahatma was inconceivable, with better understanding of the balance of forces in the Congress and in the Country, Nehru realized that it was not by seceding from the Congress, but by influencing it from within, that he could push it in the direction in which he desired it to go.

In 1936, as in 1928, Nehru stooped to Gandhi but he had stooped to conquer. The Congress election manifesto bore marks of Nehru's militant nationalism and socialism; the election campaign, largely because of him, had the effect of awakening the masses. Finally, when the Congress accepted office it was on its own terms not on those of the British Government.

Again for December 1936, session at Faizpur, Jawaharlal was selected as the Congress President. This time again on the initiative of the Mahatma. In a letter to Mathuradas Tirikumji on November 16, 1936, he wrote, "In suggesting Jawaharlal's name for the President I had in mind only the country's good."¹²

Although at one time, Nehru had decided to resign from the Presidency of the Congress in order to devote himself to the electoral campaign he later on changed his mind on Gandhi's persuasion. Sardar Patel was also among the nominees for Presidency. As the session drew near he issued a statement expressing his willingness to President if the Congress so desired. Patel withdrew his candidature after knowing the views of Gandhi, but in doing so he stressed that his gesture did not imply that he "endorsed all of Jawaharlal's view and asked" the delegates to plump for Jawaharlal as being the best person to represent the nation."¹³

In 1946 the office of, the President of the Indian National Congress acquired particular importance as the incumbent of the office was to head, the interim government. This time Jawaharlal Nehru again

became the Congress President., The interesting, aspect of the story was that this time too Sardar Patel's name was recommended by the provincial committees for the Presidentship. Sardar was the head of the Congress Parliamentary Board. Out of 15 provincial Congress Committees 12 had voted for Patel and two for Rajindra Prasad. However, the Mahatma again intervened and Patel had to withdraw in favour of Nehru. He felt that Nehru would be a better instrument to deal with English men. Explaining his choice, Gandhi said "Jawaharlal cannot be replaced today whilst the charge is being taken from Englishmen. He, a Harrow boy, a Cambridge graduate and a barrister, is wanted to carry on the negotiations with Englishmen".¹⁴

Many years later, J. B. Kriplani told Durga Das about Gandhi's preference as against Patel, He said, "like all saints and holy people Gandhi wanted 'significant men' among his adherents. A legend had grown round the sacrifices made by Nehrus for national freedom and Gandhi, therefore, preferred them".¹⁵ In so far as Jawaharlal's election was concerned, Kriplani added, "All the PCC's sent in the name of Patel by a majority and one or two proposed the name of Rajen Babu and his in addition, but none that of Jawaharlal. I knew Gandhi wanted Jawaharlal to be president for a year, and I made a proposal myself saying that 'some Delhi fellows wanted Jawaharlal's name'. I circulated to the members of Working Committee to get their endorsement."¹⁶ But, most of the members of the Working Committee were not happy, at this move. For, they preferred Sardar Patel because he was known as the 'Iron Man' with his feet firmly planted on earth. He would be able to deal better with Jinnah and at the later stage, ensure the integrity and stability of the subcontinent. When Gandhi was asked for his reaction to this outlook, he readily agreed that Patel would have proved a better negotiator and organizer as Congress President, but he felt that Nehru should head the government. When he asked that how he reconciled

this with his assessment of Patel's qualities as a leader, he laughed and said, "Jawaharlal is only Englishman in my camp". Seeing, that it had further roused by curiosity writes Durga Das, "The Mahatma added Jawaharlal will not take second place. He is better known abroad than Sardar and will make India-play a role in international affairs. Sardar will look after the country's affairs. They will be, two oxen yoked to the governmental cart. One will 'need the other and both will pull together".¹⁷ When Durga Das mentioned Rajindra Babu's lament, expressed to him, that Gandhi had once again sacrificed his trusted lieutenant for the sake of 'glamorous Nehru' and feared that Nehru would follow British ways, Gandhi replied that he appreciated the views of his colleagues but, felt that Nehru would see reason when confronted with the problem of improving the lot of the masses.¹⁷

It cannot be denied that so far as the implementation of Gandhi's economic programme was concerned Patel could be more reliable than Nehru who had openly differed from him. The only plausible explanation for big choice seems to be that while Patel controlled the Congress machine and was gifted with qualities which go to, make, -a statesman, in point of popularity he was no match to Nehru who had made himself the idol of the people.

Jawaharlal was not a Gandhian; he was not a Marxist. There was no orthodoxy, old or new which could claim him. But while his mind supposed from every where, his heart was Gandhian: Committed to the good in humankind with an unshakable conviction. Yet if any name has to be given to his special mix, then it has to be called the ideology of Indian nationalism.

But how was his vision of a transformed India to be attained? Nehru had before him a variety of answers to this question. The western European political philosophy in which he had been nurtured spoke of the power and legitimacy of democracy. Contemporary

Marxist example emphasised the ruthless mode of violence masterminded by the state. Gandhi preached non-violence, even in the face of a Hitler, and argued that the ends never justified the means and that wrong means would lead inevitably to evil ends. Nehru wrestled openly in his published works with the issues of coercion and peaceful change. Throughout his life he remained a committed democrat, and was insistent that people and events could be changed by rational argument. But he recognized the enormity of the changes he envisaged for India and the likelihood that those vested interests might well not listen to reason or to the arguments of democratic politics. Although he did not agree with Gandhi that ends and means were indistinguishable and insisted on the primacy of the goal, he nevertheless cared deeply about means. In situations of conflict, and particularly in the circumstances of India's nationalist struggle, he saw non-violent methods of pressure as the most moral and civilized, and that was central to his alliance with Gandhi. But he insisted that he did not accept non-violence as an absolute ideal and creed. He was prepared to accept that in the last resort some more coercive form of pressure might prove necessary. 'Compulsion will often be necessary, in addition to conversion, and the best we can do is to limit this compulsion and use it in such a manner that its evil is lessened.' This was the voice of a mature politician who had learned to ask the hard questions in his apprenticeship to power and had before him goals to achieve, for which access to the power of the state was vital. The private and public agonizing about India's goals, priorities and means were the other side of the man who portrayed himself as a glamorous demagogue who could endanger democracy.

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